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CHAPTER III.

OBJECTS OF THE IVTH–XXVITH DYNASTIES.

46. Pl. xiii. The ivory statuette of the king of the Ist Dynasty has been already described, under pl. ii, 3.

The ivory statuette of Khufu is the first figure of that monarch that has come to light. In connection with the whole figure here shown, the more enlarged photographs of the head should be studied on pl. xiv, 284. Happily, the *ka*-name of Khufu upon the front of the throne leaves no possible doubt on the identity of the figure. The work is of extraordinary delicacy and finish; for even when magnified to double the size on pl. xiv, it does not suggest any imperfection or clumsiness, but might have belonged to a life-size statue. The proportion of the head is slightly exaggerated; as, indeed, is always the case in minute work: but the character and expression is as well handled as it might be on any other scale, and is full of power and vigour. The surface was highly polished; much of this polish remains, and the face is happily quite perfect, except that the end of the nose is slightly worn. The ear is very true in form, and correctly placed. The idea which it conveys to us of the personality of Khufu agrees with his historical position. We see the energy, the commanding air, the indomitable will, and the firm ability of the man who stamped for ever the character of the Egyptian monarchy, and outdid all time in the scale of his works. No other Egyptian king that we know resembled this head; and it stands apart in portraiture, though perhaps it may be compared with the energetic face of Justinian, the great builder and organizer. The figure was found in the midmost of the three store chambers marked C in pl. li, along with a great quantity of pieces of wooden statues of the same age, of which only the films of surface stucco remained. The head was broken from the body by the accident of digging, and was lost in the earth, where it was only recovered by three weeks of incessant sifting.

47. Pl. xiv. A fragment of a slate bowl, 280, of King Zet is closely like his work found in the royal tombs.

281, 282 are early amulets; the bull's head was found at 177 level, and therefore of the Ist Dynasty. The beetle amulet was at 120, and must belong to the time of the earliest kings. In the town the beetle amulet was of the same age, but the bull's head amulets were earlier than that here. (*Abydos I*, li, 4, 5, 7.)

283 is a piece of a diorite cup with a figure of an ox, *su* and *t* signs; from their positions with *t* not beneath *su* they are probably part of the group *suten baty*. The twists of burnt clay, 285-287, have been mentioned already as the votive offerings thrown into the great ash bed which was the only religious centre of the IVth Dynasty. They appear to be the substitutes for the sacrifices which Khufu had abolished.

288 is a clay sealing of Userkaf, the only such known.

289-291 are alabaster vases of the same form; which, by the inscription of User-en-ra on 289, may be dated to the Vth Dynasty.

292 is an ink slab of chert highly polished,

and of beautiful work, but not quite so regular as that of Assa (*History*, i, 80); it is probably of the Vth Dynasty, and its position is marked to the south of the store chambers on pl. lii.

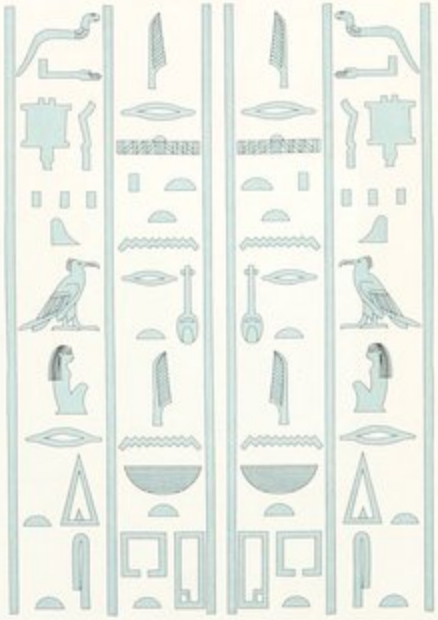
293 is the decree of Userkhau Neferarkara of the Vth Dynasty. The drawing gives the inscription clearly on pl. xviii. This was found face downwards at C on pl. lii, near the similar decree of Teta. See Mr. Griffith's chapter for the translation.

48. Pl. xv. Some of the copper tools were of new types. The chisels 1, 8, 10 are of the common form, and belong to the Old Kingdom. But the tools with turned-up edges, 2 and 7, are as yet unknown; and nothing has been seen quite like the form 4 which might be a fire tender, like the later Greek form (*Naukratis I*, xl, 6). The chisel with cylindrical handle, 11, is new to us. The pointed chisels or borers, 5, 6, and the flat chisel, 12, are all well known. The ages of these are best judged by comparing the levels with pls. lix, lx. The arrow, 9, was in the midst of the sand bed of Sankhkara, and therefore dates that form to the XIth Dynasty. The lead model of a knife, 13, was in loose top rubbish, and is probably Greek or Roman. The weight, 14, is of about 2,080 grains, and so the 30 numeral on it must refer to a unit of half a *kedet*. It was found at 190 level, and is of the Old Kingdom. The ebony palette for a scribe, 15, was not found in the temple, but in one of the tombs of the XXVIth-XXVIIIth Dynasty.

49. Pl. xvi. These sealings were found scattered in various parts of the site, mostly about the houses outside of the temple itself. None of them are identical with those private ones already known from the royal tombs; but from the style we should attribute 1-7 to the Ist Dynasty, and 8-11, 14 to the IInd Dynasty. 12 is of the Ist Dynasty by its level (see description of pl. xii, 276). No. 18 is of historic value, as it gives for the first time the *ka*-name of Menkaura. No. 19 scarcely seems like *User ab* (Khafra) as it has *t* and *ta* superfluous; possibly it is *ast-ab-taui* (Userenra). No. 20 is of Userkaf, and seems to mention in the Vth Dynasty the same place of "Ships of the king," which occurs on sealings of the IInd Dynasty (*Royal Tombs* ii, xxii, 178, 179). Nos. 21 and 22 are of Sahura, Vth Dynasty.

50. Pls. xvii, xviii. These two decrees were found close together lying face down, as shown at C on the plan, pl. lii. The *ka*-name Userkhau does not occur in the usual lists, and at first I supposed it to be of king Userkara, Aty; but it is on the Palermo stone, as the *ka*-name of Neferarkara, and hence this decree is of the Vth Dynasty. They had apparently been placed one on each side of the road leading to the north entrance of the cell of burnt offering, and the ground of offerings beyond. The inscriptions are injured by weathering (as seen on pl. xiv, 293), many signs are entirely lost, and others hard to distinguish. The translations are given in Mr. Griffith's chapter.

Pls. xix, xx. The lintel of Pepy II was found among the basement stones of Usertesen I in the western square of building. It retains some of the red colouring, and is the earliest architectural instance of the winged disc and serpents, see pl. xxi, 16. The stele of Pepy II is the lower edge of a large stone, which was found in place, inserted in a wider base-block in front of the temple of Pepy (see pl. liii). All the upper part had perished, down to the level of the mud ground in which it was embedded, see pl. xxi, 15. The lower part was much scaled and fragile, so that the flakes of the inscribed face could only be removed piecemeal. The slab showing a seated queen was used in the pavement of Sankhkara, and belongs to either Pepy I or Merenra. The piece with the name Pepy is from the same pavement. The defaced block has had *ankh hor mery taui* at the top, the *ka*-name of Pepy I, followed by a long list of offerings. This is like the list of offerings on the temple walls of





















ABYDOS

PART II. 1903

BY

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE

HON. D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D., PH.D.,
F.R.S., HON. F.S.A. (SCOT.)

MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE;
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTHROPOLOGY, BERLIN;
MEMBER OF THE ROMAN SOCIETY OF ANTHROPOLOGY;
MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES;
EDWARDS PROFESSOR OF EGYPTOLOGY, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

With a Chapter by

F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A., F.S.A.

TWENTY-FOURTH MEMOIR OF

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ABYDOS II.

INTRODUCTION.

1. The work described in this volume was begun at the end of November, 1902, and continued till the early part of April, 1903. In the previous season a part of the early town of Abydos had been excavated, and it was shown that its period began at the close of the prehistoric age and extended over the first few dynasties; the connection between the prehistoric scale and the historic reigns was thus settled, and the results appeared in *Abydos I.* The position of this town was close behind the site of the old temples of Abydos, and within the great girdle-wall enclosure of the XIIth Dynasty, which stands about half a mile north of the well-known later temples of Sety I and Ramessu II.

This early town being behind the temples, or more into the sandy edge of the desert, was higher up; the ground gently sloping from the cultivated land upwards as a sandy plain, until it reaches the foot of the hills, a couple of miles back. This slope of sand has been encroached upon by Nile deposits as the level of the river rose; and what was formerly dry ground when built on in the early monarchy is now about twenty feet below the high Nile level. This rise of the water, due to silting up of the Nile bed, is the obstacle to dealing with most of the early sites; and in the previous season we cleared as far as we could on the native-sand basis of the town. Nearer to the cultivation the sand sloped down below water level, so that we could not reach it, and we were obliged thus to leave the early temple site for some different mode of work. Happily the very exceptionally low Nile of last summer gave us the best opportunity that we could ever hope to gain. When I went out in November, just after the inundation, the water in our pits was even lower than when I had left it in April, instead of being several feet higher as is usually the case. I was thus able to begin a season with better conditions than are generally obtained at the dry end of the season; and the water continued to recede as the year advanced. No better chance could be ever hoped for, and whatever was possible to be done without enormous pumping works was completely in our power. We made use of the chance by clearing as much of the site as we could deal with, down to below this exceptional water level, and no one will ever see more without such pumping as is never likely to be attempted. As most of the site we did clear had in the earliest time only been used for rubbish, and not for construction, there was the less reason to regret not being able to work deeper; and the sand basis was reached so near to the lowest and oldest temple that it is unlikely that any earlier building existed here. We have probably, therefore, exhausted the site of the temple itself, though no doubt there are acres of early buildings and enclosure by the side of it.

The broad result is that ten different temples can be traced on the same ground, through about twenty feet difference of level; each temple built on the ruins of that which preceded it, quite regardless of the work of the earlier kings.

2. On sites which having been briefly occupied have no great depth of remains, it is best to turn back the earth as it is removed, and so cover again the ground which has been searched. And also where there is no structural connection between different parts, such as the plan of a building, it is practicable to turn over the earth to a considerable depth without losing any important results. But in the present case the superposition of so many buildings, and the depth of the accumulations, made it needful to shift the earth entirely from the ground that we searched; and we could only throw back at the lower levels, on surfaces which had been cleared to the water.

In such a clearance it was impossible to preserve all the structures. Had we avoided moving the foundations of the XXVIth Dynasty, we could never have seen much of the earlier work; had we left the paving of the XIIth Dynasty in place, we must have sacrificed the objects of the Old Kingdom. And, moreover, in the present conditions of Egypt we could not hope that any limestone building left exposed would be preserved for long; so that we should have resigned the older works for merely the temporary sight of later building which would soon be destroyed. Even while we were continually on the spot, blocks of stone were several times removed at night; and so tempting a quarry, with a big lime-kiln at each end of it, will never be left unworked by builders and lime-burners. Also had we only worked the higher levels, and left the rest, the inflow of high Nile would have formed a pond which would have so rotted the ground that deeper work could not have been carried on in the future. The only course therefore was to plan everything fully, and remove whatever stood in the way of more complete exploration. All striking pieces of construction, such as the stone gateways of Pepy, were left untouched, and work carried on to deep levels around them; in this way at the end of the season the site was bristling with pieces of walls and blocks of stonework rising ten or fifteen feet above the low level clearances.

3. A main consideration in the work was where to place the removed earth. At the back of the site, to the west, there was the ground which had been all turned over down to basal sand last season; and that could be heaped up without any risk of covering things. Accordingly we began along the west side of the temple site, and gradually raised high banks like railway embankments, along which the boys ran and threw the earth at the end and sides, thus filling most of this area. But the delay caused by throwing at much over a hundred feet distance, and the limits of this old ground, made it impossible to clear the whole temple site on to that. Pits were then sunk along the whole of the north side, and the stuff thrown far out there. Other pits were sunk on the inner sides of these, leaving only walls of earth between. And when two lines of pits, showing about thirty feet breadth of ground, had proved that such a space was clear of stonework or any important walls, we then threw out the earth close to the pits. Similarly on the east side, and part of the south, having proved that there were no temple constructions at some way out, we could then raise heaps of earth ten or twenty feet high all along. We had to remove about twenty feet depth of earth all over the excavated area, and sometimes twenty-five feet, only narrow lines of walls being left standing; consequently a large mass of tip heaps was a necessary feature of the work.

In order to move such a great quantity of earth to a considerable distance it was needful to employ a large number of boys as carriers. The digging was always done by old hands from

Quft, about thirty to forty pairs being employed on this site; and the carrying required about a hundred boys, who were drawn from the neighbouring villages. Each pair of Quftis had attached to them a sufficient number of boys, according to the distance and height to which the earth had to be carried. In the latter part of the work the raising of the earth about thirty feet to discharge added a good deal to the labour; the boys had to climb up long rows of steps cut in the sides of the excavation, and run along zig-zag tracks on the tops of narrow walls, to reach the outside of the ground. The arrangement of the thrown earth needed continual supervision; as the boys if left to their own ways always throw as near as may be, and so raise a high bank, up which everything has to be carried only to roll to the bottom on the other side. The distant ground should be filled first, and long radiating lines of bank should be formed, on the sides of which more should be thrown until the whole space is filled up continuously.

4. As the excavation progressed there was an incessant need of planning and recording all the constructions. Where these consisted of stonework, as in the later temples, the joints had to be searched for, and the surfaces examined to see whether they were foundations or upper constructions. But in the lower levels where only brickwork work was used the survey needed a long preliminary study of the fragments of walls. Often, what looked like a high wall when cleared, proved to consist of several walls, built nearly on the same line in different ages, but having a band of ruins between one another. Again, it was difficult to settle for certain the level at which a wall was based, and whether two pieces of wall were really originally continuous. I therefore always went about with a large dinner-knife and a trowel in my pocket, and spent much of my time in cutting innumerable sections and tracing out the lines of the bricks. The top and base level of each piece of wall then had to be marked on it; and the levels could then be measured off to fixed points. Altogether, I made 586 measurements of bricks; took 1,073 levels; and made 2,132 plan measurements, besides 2,010 such which were made by Mr. Stannus. The nine plates of plans here published are therefore the result of nearly six thousand measurements.

5. Besides this work on the temples much else was done on other regions of Abydos. The old fort, the Shunet-ez-Zebib, was cleared out, and the dwelling chambers found in it, containing sealings of Khasekhemui; between that and the Deir, another fort was found, with chambers containing sealings of Perabsen. Thus it seems likely that these two forts, and perhaps the Deir also, are the temporary residences of the kings of the IInd Dynasty. The cemetery was further explored, finding some important tombs. The great tomb at the southern cliffs, found last year, was completely cleared; and another great tomb, a shrine, a terrace temple—the prototype of Deir el Bahri—and a town, were discovered, which are the work of Aahmes I. All these other subjects will be treated in a supplementary volume, *Abydos III.*

6. Our party of workers were nine in all, most of whom were engaged entirely on the work of the Fund, and all of whom helped in it. Mr. E. R. Ayrton was in charge of the work on the forts, and part of the cemetery; and after that on the great temple excavation. Mr. C. T. Currelly was for a month on the cemetery, in order to learn to know the men; and then went to live at the southern cliffs, to work the great tomb of the XIIth Dynasty, beyond which he found the works of Aahmes. Miss L. Eckenstein volunteered to come and help us, and gave her time almost entirely to receiving the antiquities that were brought in, and storing them, which is a large branch of work when so much productive excavation is on hand. Miss F. Hansard also volunteered her help in drawing, and has produced most of the plates of

inscriptions. Miss M. A. Murray, although mainly occupied for the Research Account, has copied some inscriptions and checked over most of the others. Mr. N. Rawnsley was occupied in superintending the workmen in the temple excavation. And Mr. H. Stannus gave his architectural knowledge to planning the stone buildings, and some of the brickwork. My wife's time was mainly spent on the work of the Research Account; but the drawings of flints she has done as last year. My own time was taken up in general attention to arranging all the work, observing the results, and valuing all the objects for rewarding the men. Of detailed work, I had to do all the examination and interpretation of brick walls in the temple site, the levelling, and half of the planning; also drawing the pottery and arranging all the plates. Though the party was larger than usual, there was certainly no time to spare for any one, if we would deal properly with such a large space of ground, containing so many details of importance which required a full record.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE TEMPLES.

7. Before describing the remains of the temples it is needful to note that the mode of recording the levels taken this season differs from that followed last season. In the work in the town we had to deal with separate and unconnected houses, which there had not been any reason to place on a level plane at one time; on the contrary they were founded on a slope of sand, and the indications of types of pottery and flints found at uniform heights above the sand, show that the accumulation of buildings was fairly uniform along the slope over the region then worked. Hence the height over the basal sand was the truest indication of relative age, and was always stated thus in inches in *Abydos I.*

This year the conditions, and therefore the methods, were different. The temple site was levelled in the XIIth Dynasty and onward, regardless of previous slope or irregularities of the site. And the earlier temples grew irregularly, and do not follow a uniform slope of basal sand; and heaps of broken pottery filled part of the site which was covered by the second and third temples. Moreover, it was impossible to reach the basal sand under most of the temple site, and therefore heights could not be read from it. The only method then was to take true levels over the whole ground, and leave the irregularities of each period to be seen by the differences of level. *Hence the levels of this year have no constant relation to the heights over sand of last year.* The zero of this year's levels was taken at 400 inches below the top of the large block of granite which formed the side of the pylon of Tahutmes III in the western wall; as that was visible from all parts of the site, and was not moved by us, being outside of the early temple area. The connection between the sloping sand zero of last year and the level zero of this year may be stated thus:—Near the W. wall of the outer temenos the basal sand slopes down to the E. at 1 in 40 for 500 inches; then 1 in 70 for 1,000 inches, and is then horizontal for 500 inches or more; at this region, about the Tahutmes pylon, the zero basal sand of last year is about at 125 inches in the levels of this year. So, roughly speaking, the sand zero of last year outside the temple on the west slopes from 150 to 125 inches above the zero level of this year. But the sand would probably slope down to an average of 100 above zero beneath the temple site; and the average of seven forms of pottery found in both systems of levels, would give the sand surface as 92 in absolute level. Such amount of difference is desirable to avoid confusion, which might have arisen if the numbers had been nearly alike. There are no heights of objects over sand last year as large as 120 inches, and there are no levels of objects this year as small as 120, so there can be no question in future as to the meaning of numbers on pottery or other objects from here.

8. In the plans here given it should be understood that not only the new buildings of a certain period are shown, but also all buildings which are proved by their levels to have been in use at that period. A plan shows then all that we know to have been in simultaneous use in one period. But in order to distinguish the older from the newer work, the buildings which are in previous plans are shaded from high left to low right, those which appear first

in the present plan are shaded oppositely; and, again, of the fresh buildings, those which are earlier in the given period are shaded closely, and those which were added to them later in the period are shaded openly. The relation of the different shading is given in a table at the foot of each plan; and also the levels of the shadings at opposite sides of the plan, depending upon the slope of the site.

Stonework is marked in solid black where upright construction yet remains; in open outline for pavements and substructures. Brickwork is shown by shading, varying according to its age as stated above.

Upon the plans the levels are shown in inches above the arbitrary datum. Usually two levels are stated with a hyphen between; the lower is the level of the base of the wall, showing when it was founded, the upper is that of the highest part of the wall, which shows the ground level at the period when it was swept away, and therefore dates the close of its use. Where only one level is stated to a wall the hyphen before it shows that it is a base level, or the hyphen after it shows that is is a top level.

There are also reference numbers in large type, mainly to the foundation deposits, referring to the numbers attached to objects found.

Also there are numbers with decimal points, as 6·1, which show the breadths of bricks used in the walls. For the details of such see under the "nominal number" in the table of dimensions of bricks at the end of the volume. This "nominal number" is not necessarily the exact mean dimension, but it serves to refer to the group of actual measurements in the table as well as a letter or reference mark, and it gives an idea of the general dimension at the same time. It is intentionally made slightly different for different groups of bricks, in order to serve to identify them in the table.

All suggestions of restored outlines of buildings are marked with broken lines without any shading, so that there can be no doubt about the observed remains.

9. Pl. xlix. To begin with, an outline of some of the principal buildings is given, to show the general nature of the site. I have not attempted to show all periods, nor the whole work of any one age; but only a selection which will avoid confusion. The great outer wall marked xii was probably first built by Usertesen I; the bricks of the oldest parts of it are the same sizes as bricks of his foundation deposits, and it rests upon town ruins of the Old Kingdom. But this wall has been so often broken and repaired that a complete study of it would be a heavy task; some parts rest on XIXth Dynasty building, and even Roman patchwork is seen. The general character of it is shown in pl. xlviii, with alternating portions, the first set consisting of towers of brickwork built in concave foundations, and then connecting walls between, formed in straight courses. The purpose of this construction has long been a puzzle, but a suggestion may be made here. The weakness of great walls of unbaked brick consists in the scaling of the face, when a whole sheet of two or three bricks in thickness will crack through and drop away from the main mass. An obvious remedy for this is to have construction lines of well-laid bricks running through the wall, square with the face. And the best way of ensuring that real strengthening lines are laid, is to have alternate blocks built and well finished, and then connected by intermediate masses. Another advantage of this form is that if scaling begins in one block the joints across the wall will prevent it spreading through to another block. The alternate concave and straight courses are the natural result of building isolated masses, on a concave bed like all Egyptian houses, and then connecting them by intermediate walls. The hard face across the wall, and the joint to prevent the spread of

scaling, are the essential advantages of this construction.

The corner marked Kom-es-Sultan is the enclosure which was emptied out by Mariette's diggers because of the abundance of burials with steles of the XIIth to XVIIIth Dynasties. They have removed all the earth to far below the base of the walls, thus digging in most parts right through the town of the Old Kingdom, which stood here before the great walls were built.

The inner two sides of this enclosed corner are later than the outer wall; the bricks are larger than those of Usertesen, and the base of the wall is higher than his. It appears then, that burials having begun in that corner of the great fortification, it was feared that they would spread inconveniently, and so two cross walls were built to box off the corner and reserve that part only for burials.

On the east side the wall is strangely askew to the gateway; but the whole history of the S.E. corner is so complex and unexamined that the rebuilding of the walls and their connection with the late pylon is not at all understood.

The causeway line dotted through the site from the east to the west gate is a main feature; but it is later than the VIth Dynasty, as the wall of that age cuts it, and it was cut in two by later buildings of the XXth Dynasty. It seems then to begin with Usertesen, whose gateways it runs through; and to have been kept up by Tahutmes III, who built a wall with granite pylon for it (marked xviii here), and also by Ramessu II, who built a great portal colonnade of limestone for the causeway to pass through on entering the cemetery, outside the west wall of this plan.

To the north of the causeway are seen the tombs of the Ist Dynasty, which were discovered last year and published in *Abydos I*, xxxvi—xlix. One more, No. 27, was found this year beneath the wall of Tahutmes: it was of just the same character as the larger of the previous tombs. All of these are, of course, far below any of the buildings shown on this outline plan.

The excavations of last year began along the north of the site of the temple of Nekht-nebf; a row of trenches, with only a foot or two of earth between them, was run from this site northwards, passing between the Kom-es-Sultan and the pylon of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and ending beyond the tombs of the Ist Dynasty. This ground was all completely turned over to the basal sand, and served as a waste space for receiving the temple earth from this year's work.

Of the two long walls marked vi the inner one is older, but was reused by Pepy. It is probably the temenos of the IIIrd Dynasty. The outer wall is the temenos of the VIth Dynasty, the west side of which is yet unknown, and has probably been all destroyed.

The temple of Pepy is shown in the middle, with the N., W. and S. sides of the thin boundary wall which enclosed it. The thick wall which lies outside of that is the great wall of the XVIIIth Dynasty, with the granite pylon of Tahutmes III. It seems to have followed the line of the VIth Dynasty wall on the north. The walls of the XIIth Dynasty are omitted here, as they would cause so much confusion; and for all the details the following plans should be studied.

The outline marked xix shows a high level platform of stone, which was probably the basement of buildings of Ramessu II.

10. Pl. I. This plate includes two periods of building, and an intermediate stage. The earliest building that I could trace on the temple site was at A. The north end of the thin, long wall is based at 114 level, and was cut down at 158 level, probably when the adjacent chambers at 165 were built. The wide layer of sanded ground at 146 shows a rearrangement and furbishing of the site at a second period. Of the same date seems to be the continuation of this

wall to the southward, based at 154. No such walls were to be found under E or F, the lowest levels of all that ground being filled with rubbish heaps of broken pottery and refuse. The building A seems then to be that of the original temple, and to have been entered by a passage from the south. The northern and western walls of it could not be traced, all the north having been cut away by the sand bed of XXth Dynasty; but a fragment with its top at 148 might be part of a north wall of the same age. Of the same earliest building are the chambers by B based at 115, the stone paving at 114 west of these, and the chambers at C on the south, based at 120 to 134.

The second period, of the rearrangement of A, is marked by the sanded ground at 146 east of A, the extension of A southward at 154, the great temenos wall D at 143, the walls east of that at 145, and the house away to the west at 142.

As the rubbish accumulated the level rose about these buildings, and the approach sloped upward, as seen at the yellow brick floor on the north-east, which rises from 142 to 165.

11. The next period shows the establishment of much larger buildings at E and F. The ground level had risen by accumulations at A and around it, so that the base of the south wall of E rises from 157 on the east to 185 towards the west, completely burying the remains of the older temple at A. The great building at E was 42 ft. wide inside, with walls 8 ft. thick; the difference of shading upon it is to mark this change of level, but it was doubtless all built at the same time. The north wall was not traced, but it must have been under the line of the later wall at 170-190 level, as on the next plate will be seen a wall at 180-210, which clearly bounded the road on the north; and, allowing for the road width, the north face of the temple can hardly have been beyond the wall 170-190. We must then imagine a space of about 21 × 42 ft., with an entrance on the north. This must have had some supports for the roof, and probably the 42 ft. was divided into 3, 5, or 7 spaces. Both 3 and 7 spaces imply unlikely spans, and 5 spaces with spans of 8 ft. each across the width, and 3 spaces with 7 ft. spans in the depth, seem most suitable.

In front of this, on the other side of the roadway, was built a block of rooms at 155 to 165 base level, and others at 146 and 163 level. Just within the temenos wall D a set of four strong store rooms were built at F, with base at 161-169 level. This was later increased by three more chambers in front of it, at 172 to 181 level, which cut off the region south of the temple from the entrance at D, and must have made the road in front of the temple the only way into the temenos.

To the east of the temenos wall D the ground was sanded over at 154 to 159, and some houses were built at 162, with two circular granaries.

The date of this second temple is indicated by ribbed slate like that of Den at 170, and ribbed alabaster like that of Den at 180, while a sealing of Qa was further to the west at 178. These positions may be taken as about the level of the close of the Ist Dynasty, as the objects of Den were probably old when thrown away. If then the close of the Ist Dynasty is at 170 to 180 level, we must put the later chambers of F, and later front of E, to that age; and the building of the temple E and temenos D must be of the earlier part of the Ist Dynasty, perhaps of Zer. This will throw back the furbishing of the site and sanding at 146 level to the time of Mena; and the earliest temple at A would be that of the pre-Menite kings of Dynasty 0. Such seems the probable history of the site, from the fixed position of the latter part of the Ist Dynasty.

12. Pl. li. The temple of the IInd and IIIrd Dynasties was much the same structure as that built in the Ist Dynasty. An entrance door-sill remains at B; and a skew front to the store rooms was built, with a sill at 185, which is shown in the last plan, but which should be

transferred to the present. A long wall was built at 180 level, bounding the temple road on the north. To the west an outer enclosure appears at 200-235 level, which seems to have joined the southern boundary wall D. The north boundary is probably the wall 202-254. Within this area is a sanded space at 190, and a much larger sanded space outside it at 192, showing a great refurbishing in the IInd Dynasty.

To the south of the temple the way which had been left at 174 level past the building at 161-194 was cut off by the extension of the great store chambers C. The older boundary wall, E, at 171 to 195 was in the IInd Dynasty rebuilt much thicker at 195 to 210, and the temenos wall was thickened by adding about 6 ft. more brickwork to its outer face at 177 level. In front of the temenos some more skew buildings were added.

At the south of the temple building was found a pit about 4 ft. deep and 3 ft. in diameter; it was roughly cut through the strata of pottery and rubbish, and whitewashed over the sides. In it was found the limestone cylinder, shown on pl. xii 276; and the level to which the cylinder must be credited is that of the top of the pit 187. This is practically the ground level of the temple, which we have seen is of about the date of Zer. The fine black cylinder, xii, 275, was found at the same level in the western region. Agreeing nearly with this dating is the flint flake of the style of Zer found at 197 level, S.W. of the temple. The southern ground was higher than the rest of the site in later times, a difference which very likely began earlier.

Pl. lii. An entire reconstruction next took place, in which the older buildings of the temple were cut down to below 210, and new buildings started. The date of this change is uncertain; but as it is the last building before that of Pepy, it must have been in use in the Vth Dynasty, though, as there are two periods traceable, it probably started in the IVth Dynasty. The ground sloped much as before, and hence we may consider the eastern door-sill at 185 level to have been still in use along with the black ash bed of offerings beginning about 210.

The thick outer wall on the east remained as before, and the general mass of store chambers, which were, however, extended to the north, on the disappearance of the older temple. The site west of the stores seems to have been cut in two by a long wall D; a new block of dwellings being built in between that and the old stores. Probably D shut off the actual temple from stores and dwellings.

14. Whatever there was of the shrine itself had mainly disappeared in the reconstruction by Pepy. But a great ash bed remained which is so far unique. At about 210 level black burnt earth had been accumulated on the ground, and spread out over a space more than 10 by 15 feet in area. After several inches thickness was piled up the ground was delimited by a thin wall of two courses of bricks end to end, the bricks being laid upon the ashes. This boundary was observed, and the further accumulations inside it were mainly charcoal ash and fine carbon, while outside it was earth stained black by the dust. No bones were found in this pile, nor any definite objects of sacrifice or offering, except hundreds of little twists of burnt clay, of the forms shown in pl. xiv, 285—287. These seem to be the very degraded and conventionalized imitation of some object of offering, perhaps the forequarters of a sheep. This heap cannot be regarded as a mere rubbish heap, because (1) no ordinary rubbish such as broken pottery was found in it, (2) it was carefully delimited with a thin line of bricks, (3) only one class of votive offerings was found there, and these were not found anywhere else. It must therefore be a hearth of burnt offering; and no such offering place is known in any of the

temples before or after this here, nor in any other Egyptian building.

The building around this was smaller than those before or after; it was in fact a mere cell about 12 feet wide, which enclosed the ground of burnt offering; and there does not seem to be any space for a temple beside this. Have we not here in this change in the character of the worship the basis of the tradition about Khufu, preserved by Herodotos, that "having shut up all the temples, he first of all forbade them to offer sacrifice, and afterwards he ordered all the Egyptians to work for himself" (Hdtos. ii, 124)?

At the west and south of this cell of burnt offering is a bed of sand, A, which supported a later building based at about 230 level, which seems to have enclosed the cell of offering. This may well have been a temple of the priestly age of the Vth Dynasty. The deposit at 92 differs from any other, having only a few small beads and a little model adze of copper in the sand.

South of this sanctuary was a block of buildings, E, which had a clear passage left between it and the dividing wall D.

15. The entrance to the offering cell appears to have been from the north, the road passing from the east gateway along the north face of the building. Thus the two decrees of Teta and Neferarkara, C, which lay face down, stood probably one on each side of the road to the cell, so as to be well seen and known. At B is the stone sill of the doorway which led into the precinct, at level 185. The stones at 203 and 209 may be part of the foundations of a stone doorway to which this sill belonged.

Behind the sanctuary to the west the ground was strewn with various offerings. Two groups of pottery stands (see pl. xii, 270-272) and two other such stands, a great mass of broken pottery of large vessels, and various other vases, were in this area. The most important part here was the chamber 69, which contained the glazed figures and ivories of the Ist Dynasty. This and some of the other offerings ought rather to have been entered in the previous plan; but as there was no building in this region, it seemed best to keep all the offerings together on one plan, so as to see their relation.

There is a difficulty in understanding how the chambers 64 and 65 at the north end came to have objects of the Ist Dynasty in them. By the levels we should attribute these chambers to the XIth Dynasty. Either we must suppose that building must have gone on very rapidly here, raising the site 6 or 7 ft. above the rest of the ground; or else that these early objects were found in digging by Sankhkara when he rearranged the place, and were then put aside as sacred in some disused rooms. As the large ape-like stones (pl. ix, 195, 196) were set upright against the chamber sides, it appears that they were respected when put in position.

The general nature of the sanctuary of the IVth and Vth Dynasty then is different from the earlier or later arrangement. Instead of a large building there is a cell for burnt offerings, and an open space beyond it in which stands and vases were placed, apparently bounded by the walls G, and another wall 30 ft. to the south; outside of this wall on the south the broken offering jars were thrown in a heap. Both the cell and the offering ground were covered over by the later temple of Pepy.

16. Pl. liii. The VIth Dynasty was a great time of reconstruction; the two stone gateways of the enclosures, and the two stone doorways of the temple of this age being the earliest important stonework that remains. The evidences of the date of the work are given by the stele of the VIth Dynasty (pl. xix) standing unmoved in its original base-block, just in front of the temple doorway, on ground which is at the level of that under the stone

door-sill. The position of the steles proves that the entrance to the temple already existed in this position before they were set up; and yet it cannot be much older than the steles, as the ground of the steles is lower than the doorway, and the tablets of Pepy I were thrown away on ground at the same level as the doorway. This doorway carries with it the age of the western building A, into which it leads; and this again implies the age of the outer enclosure B, which is at the same level. The gateway D is self-dated by the name of Pepy, which can be traced on the north jamb of the east face (see pl. xlvii). The outer gateway G must be subsequent to the wall of D, as it was built to enclose the store chambers attached to that wall, and it is at a higher level. Yet, as we shall see in the further plans, the bases F were buried and altered in the XIth Dynasty, and therefore they and the outer gate at the same level must be much older than that age. As from our general knowledge of the history we can hardly suppose a gate such as G and a large temenos wall (see pl. xlix) to have been built in the dark ages of the VIIth—Xth Dynasties, it seems that this most likely belongs to the close of the VIth Dynasty. As the gateway D is most probably of the first Pepy, who we know built the temples of Tanis, Bubastis, and Koptos, this leaves over 120 years to the close of the dynasty, or 100 years before the end of the second Pepy, enough time for the growth of the difference between the gate levels.

The ground varied in level a good deal at this period. The gateway D is only 196 level; the ground slopes rapidly up to the west at about 1 in 10 to 234, as shown by the slope of the bases of the wall on the south of the way. Thence it continued on one level to the ground by the Pepy steles at 235. The north door of the temple is at 245, and the south door of the same building is at 273. That these are of the same age is shown by a foundation deposit (No. 117) by the side of the sill, which contained a pottery vase (pl. xlv, 115) of the form of Pepy's alabaster vases. A similar deposit (No. 81) was found at 650 inches to the E., and at 280 level; and another (No. 119) at 750 inches to the S.E. at 299 level. Here it is clear that the building ground varied from 196 to 299 level at one period; and in general the N.E. is the lowest ground, and the S.W. the highest.

17. The building at A, with thick walls and two doorways, appears to be the temple of Pepy I; it was 60 ft. from back to front, and 70 ft. wide. It appears to have had a middle hall, 23 ft. wide and 49 ft. long. As the walls were of brick, the roofing was probably of timber; with two rows of five pillars the spans would be 8 ft. each way, and the only uncertainty is the possibility of four or six pillars having been used. The two doors, one at each end, shows that this was a processional temple, like others before the XVIIIth Dynasty. In the S.W. corner of the hall stood a group of three large ring stands and two jars. (pl. xlv, 116-119.)

The north doorway consists of a pavement of stone blocks, seen in side view and top view on pl. xlvii. The position of the east jamb is shown by two blocks of stone in place, and the rest of it, and that of the west jamb by the sunken surface where the stone had stood. The deep groove along the west side was for inserting the pivot block, and then sliding in the bottom pivot of the door after the top one was in place. There was a single door, 57 in. wide, closing a passage of 41 in. wide. The southern doorway is a single block of stone, with 4 in. height of the jambs cut out all in one piece, and 2 in. sunk lower for the door play (on which the level 273 is written); the whole block being 24 in. thick. The door was single, 42 in. wide, closing a passage 34 in. between the jambs. The groove for inserting the pivot and its block is on the west side.

On the inner sides of the jambs are two blocks of brickwork, shaded closely here, which seem older than the rest of the wall in which they are inserted; between them the walling was filled in across the doorway down to 266 level, doubtless by Sankh-ka-ra, who reared this wall on the line of Pepy. He may have rebuilt likewise the portions on either side of the door, and, if so, only the two jambs built against the stonework are originally of Pepy. This part being higher than the rest of the temple has suffered most in the levelling down and reconstruction of the XIth Dynasty.

On either side of the great wall there seem to have been store chambers, in which were found an alabaster vase of Pepy (pl. xxi, 8), another of the same form No. 10, a group of eight copper feathers, gilt (xxi, 11), and a copper tube like xxi, 2. Outside of the temple on the north lay an alabaster vase of Neferkara (Pepy II) xxi, 7, the five glazed tablets of Pepy I, and one of Pepy II, xxi, 12—14, and a copper tube and two little cups, xxi, 2.

At 100 in. east of the north door a block of stone was inserted in the face of the temple wall (the outline in the plan is incomplete in front); the detail of this block is given on Pl. xxvii. The grooves in it, deeper at the back, seem as if intended to hold upright staves; and it may well be the earliest form of the grooves in the temple fronts of the XVIIIth Dynasty, in which masts were placed. If so, the staves may have been used in external processions, and not being brought into the temple, some stand for them was required outside.

Almost in front of the doorway stood three limestone steles, still socketed in the original bases of limestone. They had been broken down in later times to the level of the mud soil, which had partly buried them; and thus only the northern one retained any of its inscription, concerning endowments for the service to the royal statues (pl. xix). Evidently there had been a long record, of which only this fragment is left. The steles were $29 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ and 29×6 in., set in sockets 40×19 and 37×18 in.; the southern one was broken at the end.

Around this temple there seems to have been an enclosure wall. At B is a corner of wall based at 237, which has been ruined at 290 and rebuilt at 298 inches; yet the whole of it is earlier than the wall of the XIIth Dynasty which superseded it. As the south wall of Pepy's temple is based at 232, this enclosure is clearly of the same age. It probably ran on northward till it joined a wall which was based at 202, and destroyed at 254 for Sankh-ka-ra to build his own wall on nearly the same line.

The whole of this temple remained in use till the time of Mentuhotep III, as we shall see in dealing with his work; the ground had an accumulation of a foot or more of mud on it in the course of centuries. Then by Sankhkara it was pulled down, the walls levelled to to the mud around, and a thick bed of about 3 feet of sand laid over it to bring it up to the general ground level of surrounding parts which had been raised by ruins.

18. At C is a portion of another large building which may belong to the previous dynasty by the rather lower level of it.

At D is a sloping ascent rising about one in ten from the lower level of the stone gateway. To the south of it is the older group of store chambers, which received a new north end, E, in this period, probably in connection with building the slanting wall south of D. The stone gateway remains in good condition up to five feet high, see pl. xlvii. The surfaces were anciently weathered, so that the inscription of Pepy can scarcely be traced; but the whole had been buried in accumulation of earth, so that Sankhkara built a flight of rough steps before it (xlviii), and did not remove the stone below five feet of height when he founded his wall on the top of it. On the north side of

the east end the bolt holes are seen in the stone (xlvii), and there is a door pivot in the south side of the doorway at each end of the stone gateway. There is no trace of any continuous jointing of the stone at the junction of the two walls; so that the whole gateway appears to belong to one age. The outer additional wall is based at 177, which shows an earlier age than the gateway with its floor at 196.

In front of the gateway is the colonnade F which is certainly later, as the pillar bases are at 220, and probably the ground about 214. This is of the same date as the buildings north of it with a sill at 220; those south of it with a sill at 219; and the outer gateway G at 220. It seems that a pair of bases to the west of these has been lost; with such a pair the spaces would be equal up to the brick antae which are built on at either side of the inner gateway. The spaces would then be all equal, those across the gangway, up to the flank walls north and south, and from pillar to pillar and up to the gateways. Unfortunately no trace remains of the pillars; and, considering the stone bases of wooden pillars at Kahun, it is very possible that they were here also of wood.

19. The outer gateway at G is much more ruined, only some of the lowest course of stones remaining (pl. xlvii). The pavement has been greatly worn away, breaking through in parts and patched with rough stones. The inner door-sill was also hollowed by treading, several inches deep. The far greater amount of wear on this gate compared with the inner one is due to more use, as it led to dwellings and stores as well as to the temple; and also due to longer use, as the inner gate floor was buried in earth probably before the colonnade was built, whereas the outer gate was in use to the XIth Dynasty. In the N.W. corner was a pivot block of hard black quartzose stone, slightly concave on the top and highly polished. It was stolen at night soon after we found it, the museum guards being ineffectual.

The outer wall through which this gate leads is part of a large temenos, which ran outside the inner temenos wall, and probably round the whole site. The line outside of the shaded wall on each side shows the place of the foot to which the side slopes out. Both walls are obvious in the general field of ruins away to the south, as shown on the plan (pl. xlix). About seventy feet north of the gateway the wall turns to the west, and must have run on to where the wall of Tahutmes III later appeared. But all this part was entirely dug out by Ramessu III for a great sand bed of his buildings, which has destroyed all trace of earlier works. It may be suspected that this line ran on to the piece of wall at the end of the Kom-es-Sultan, as the south side of this temenos runs as far west as that point. The only place to find the west side of this temenos would be under the temple of Nekht-nebf, as the modern *sebakh* diggers have entirely dug away all construction elsewhere on the west. The wall has been economized at the north-east by building it hollow and filling the space with clean sand. The large vacant space over the "yellow brick floor" is difficult to understand. It looks as if intended for a gateway; yet the base of the wall is at 210, and cannot therefore be older than the gate pavement at 220. Also chambers at 220 completely block across the opening. There seems no reason for making such a thick wall with a stone gateway, if a large gap in it was made close by the gate. Perhaps some outside building masked this opening.

20. To the south of the gates a large block of stores, and perhaps of dwellings, was built against the inner wall J, K, and the outer wall was separated from it by a narrow passage which gave access to the space further to the south. It is a remarkably narrow and awkward passage, about two feet wide at the bottom, considering that it had to take all the traffic to a space four or five hundred feet long; for no

other entrance has been observed in this wall. The chambers contain two large circular granaries, which probably held about ten tons of wheat. This would feed nearly a hundred people for a year, and we thus get some idea of the number of persons who were provided for by these store-rooms.

About a hundred feet to the east of this wall there was a thick wall, M, the base of which is at 197, and therefore probably of the age of Pepy's gateway at 196. We only disclosed it at one part, as the depth of the ground made it tedious to work, and it lay so far out that we could not expect temple buildings. The thickness of it, 17 feet, seems to show that it was a great outer fortification of the site. At one point we found beneath it the bones of an ox, laid around as if in a pit: probably this was a sacrifice at the founding of the wall.

A peculiar building was found at N. The floor consisted of two layers of thin slabs of limestone; and between them, in the mortar, were two bent rods of copper thickly plated with gold, about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick and 5 inches long. The sides of this long chamber were thin slabs of limestone, about 3 inches through, rough at the back and smooth inside. At the north end were traces of an arched roof, 45 high to the start, and 80 inches high to the crown. The whole chamber was 397 inches long, 71 wide at the south and 73½ at the north. The level of the pavement was 213, or 210 by another measurement. This is about the VIth Dynasty level, and so it is entered on this plan. But as the slabs imply a backing of earth (being thin and rough on the back), it would seem that this may have been an entirely subterranean chamber of some later period. If the roof were entirely below ground, it would imply that this was at least as late as the XIIth Dynasty; and the poor work of it would agree best to the XXth or XXVIth Dynasty. The form is unknown before, and the purpose not illustrated by anything else.

The space between the outer wall M, and the gateway wall G, contained no structures of this age. Nothing was met with but broken pottery and rubbish heaps, and therefore we stopped after clearing about a quarter of the area with pits in various parts. I wished to avoid overthrowing the scanty remains of the XXVIth Dynasty temple, if there was nothing likely to be of importance beneath it.

21. Pl. liv. The greater part of the buildings of the VIth Dynasty seem to have continued in use until the great reconstruction by Sankhkara. But in the time of Mentuhotep III some changes were made. Outside the temple of Pepy, at A, two roughly cut altars of red granite were placed side by side. The spout of the altar was to the north, and they sloped down in that direction. They seem from their regular arrangement to be in the original position. The inscription was only the king's cartouche and the figures of offerings. These indicate that the approach to the temple was still on the north, the path probably leading between the altars up to the door of Pepy. The tops of the altars were at 276 level, and the ground level of that age about 266. Close by them was a square pit full of sand, from 263 down to 243 level; but nothing whatever was found in it except two bits of broken rib bone, and a broken end of a pot of probably the XIth Dynasty. On the top of the sand was five inches of chips of sandstone, such as Mentuhotep used in the building, and a layer of chips and mortar on the top of all. Near by, at 66, was a circular hole, which from the level is propably of the same age. In the sand was a pot between the forms of 181 and 196, pl. xlvi; and other pottery of the XIth Dynasty was found in the earth just over the sand filling.

The construction of Mentuhotep must have been important, as several blocks of sculpture were found, reused in the XVIIIth Dynasty for building foundations, see pls. xxiv, xxv. All of

these are of sandstone; and, so far as remains go, this was the first stone temple at Abydos. The position of it was probably near the temple of Pepy, as the blocks were found reused about that region, the foundations in which they were laid being those marked A and B on pl. lvii. Now on pl. liv there are, at B, five limestone bases of columns, which are rather too high to belong to Pepy, being 248, 249 level, while Pepy ground level is 235 along there, and his building 245. And they are certainly before the building of Sankhkara at 289 level, as they lie in the bottom of his thick sand bed. They do not fall in with the plan of Pepy's or Sankhkara's walls. They vary much in size, being 18, 23, 24, 29 and 30 inches across; but clearly belong to one plan by their position. They must therefore belong to a building largely made up of old materials; and we cannot attribute such to Pepy or to Sankhkara. So, unless they were arranged by some king who has left no other trace, we must attribute them to Mentuhotep. They suggest a wide portico facing east, of eight pillars in front, those which remain being the four to the south of the axial path leading to the front of Pepy's temple. The thin wall at 258 to 230, just before the pillars, seems to have been the retaining wall of the foundation of a stone front to the portico. This stone wall would be outside of the remaining brick, and so leave a space of about 100 inches centre to centre across to the pillars, while the span between the pillars is 103 at the end, and 113 along the front.

22. At X in the west part of the Pepy temple was an irregular hollow, filled with a very large deposit of hundreds of pottery vases, of the types given in pl. xlvi, nos. 157-186. Below them in some parts was a flooring made of very thin, rough flakes of flint, laid closely together overlapping; and a good deal of white ashes of burnt offering mixed with the deposit. There was no white sand for filling in, but all dark mud earth between the pottery. From the flint flooring this must have been an intentional deposit or deposits, and not merely a waste hole. Perhaps it was an offering place belonging to the temple; the irregular form being thus accounted for by the repeated digging of a fresh hole to deposit the offerings.

Coming further east we see that at D an entirely new group of chambers had been built; but perhaps these might belong to the close of the VIth Dynasty. The square chamber marked 280-227 was barrel vaulted, so it may have been a subterranean chamber of the next period. At C the south end of the great store chambers of the Old Kingdom had been abandoned, after filling the S.E. chamber with the broken wooden statues of that age. And new chambers were added over these.

Outside the temenos of Pepy the chambers with granaries continued in use. The colonnade between the gates was partly earthed up; and at 230, or ten inches over the column bases, a wall was built which must have touched the northern columns. The wall on the south of the columns must have been renewed at this time, as the base is at 234. Also a buttress was built against the side of the outer gate, this buttress, the wall south of the columns, and the wall 244-194 S.W. of the inner gateway, all have the same peculiar quality of gritty bricks, which would suggest that they were built at the same time; if so the S.W. wall 244-194 must have been added at the close of the VIth Dynasty or later.

23. Pl. lv. The temple of Pepy was so ruinous, however, that Sankh-ka-ra entirely swept it away, and built upon a new plan which ignored the old lines. The former enclosure of Pepy's temple, H on pl. lv, was used to limit the foundations of Sankhkara's new work, but the eastern side of this new square of building ran through the midst of the site of Pepy, and none of the old temple walls had any connection with the new building. The ground around had probably risen a good deal by repeated rebuildings

during several centuries, and so the old temple site was too low. It was raised by a thick bed of sand so that the new pavement stood at 285 to 289 inches, instead of 245. The new wall east of the square will be seen to have a portion hatched as being older; this is a fragment of Pepy's front wall which was left to stand as part of the new line; the doorway of Pepy adjoins this on the west side. The position of the entrance to the new building is not known.

The dating of this new work is fixed thus. We have seen Mentuhotep's altars in line with the entrance to Pepy's temple, showing that the entrance there was in the old line. Here the plan is entirely different, and this must be later than Mentuhotep III. On the other hand, the deposit pit of Usertesen I in the middle of this square had its brick sides rising above the level of this new pavement, and therefore the pavement is older than Usertesen. It must, then, be of Sankhkara or of Amenemhat I, and as three blocks of Sankhkara were found reused here (pl. xxv), it is pretty evident that this re-establishment of the temple was due to him. The pit on the west marked "Deposit?" was empty, but near it lay the small alabaster tablet of Sankhkara, Pl. xxiii. East of the square is a pavement at 278 level: this is seven inches below the western pavement, but as it interferes with Pepy's temple which Mentuhotep kept up, it can hardly be before Sankhkara. The walls at E are of the same bricks and character as the western part, and doubtless of the same age. They probably held the sand bed for a thick stone wall, filling the trench between the walls 295-259 and 281-253. The deposits 93 and 94 are marked here, as they are singularly in line with such a wall, but from their pottery they are more likely of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and agree to that place (see pl. lvii).

The floor props noted are cylinders of pottery and fragments of very thick large jars, set on end to support a floor made of pottery slabs, evidently for the sake of dryness. They may belong to the previous period. At 95 was a square deposit, which, from the minute tool models, is not of the XIIth or XVIIIth Dynasty, and may belong to this age. At 80 was another deposit, with a few pots which seemed to belong to the XIth Dynasty.

The very broad wall, B, to the east of this may be misunderstood. Only one or two courses of bricks remain bedded on sand, and they may have been pavement as well as wall. The large pit on the east of it at the south end contained nothing. The date of this wall is fixed by its underlying the temenos of Usertesen I at the south, and yet rising completely over the gateway of Pepy, which was buried five feet under it. It seems then to belong to the high level reconstruction by Sankhkara. Outside this, at E, was a flight of rude steps, formed of single, rough blocks of stone, to lead up from the level of the half-buried colonnade to the new level of the reconstruction on the top of Pepy's gateway. These are seen in pl. xlviii, before we removed them to show the older gateway.

24. Pl. lvi. Usertesen I swept away a large part of the earlier work and laid out an entirely new temple on a much larger plan. The old temenos walls of the Ist—IVth Dynasty had disappeared long ago, and now the outer temenos of Pepy was lost. A new and far larger temenos was laid out, and the temple was also expanded. This work was marked by general levelling of the ground and spreading new sand beds. A part of the plan of Sankhkara was kept at the western square, but his pavement was overlaid by rows of deep, joist-like foundation blocks. Within this area a pit was sunk in the sand, lined with brick, and a deposit of Usertesen placed in it. The brick lining rose up through the Usertesen foundation level and above the Sankhkara pavement. What the relation of these wall-lines was to the stone temple we cannot now see. On the north the row of stone blocks is in line between the

two northern deposit pits, 120 and 86. But the southern row of blocks and that across the square do not fall in to any obvious plan. Another difficulty in the site is that while the two northern pits, 86 and 120, are in the line of stone buildings, the two western pits, 120 and 121, are beneath the brick temenos wall, and have no relation to the stone back of the temple which must have existed. This stone back wall was probably inside, or east, of the narrow brick wall, where the N.W. corner of masonry still existed. On looking to the south side we see that the door-sill of Sebekhotep III is in line with the two southern pits, 96 and 121. The foundations outside of this gate were largely made of disused bases of columns, and as Sebekhotep is not likely to have pulled down the work of Usertesen, it seems more likely that these belonged originally to the temple of Pepy. At the S.E. of these foundations were two lines of rough pots stacked side by side, perhaps bordering some deposit, of which nothing was left but broken potsherds in the middle.

The door-sill of Sebekhotep was a great block of yellow quartzite sandstone, with the groove for passing the lower pivot of the door into its place. It may have been placed by an earlier king, but was doubtless used for the two black granite jambs of Sebekhotep (pl. xxviii), the pieces of which were found close by it.

The pavement at 278 level, east of the square, was laid by Sankhkara, as shown by its level. But a stone of the south end of it had been removed, and others rearranged, to place a deposit there which appeared to be of the XVIIIth Dynasty. This suggests that it was left exposed until that time, and so may have formed part of the temple of the XIIth Dynasty.

The temenos wall was preserved for three or four feet in height along the west side; it is dated there by closely overlying the two deposits of Usertesen, and being built of bricks of exactly the size of those which line his deposit holes. On the south side I could not discover the corner, which seems entirely lost, but parts of the inner and outer faces were found, and such are marked by thicker outlines and closer shading. At the S.E. corner there remained only an inch or two of thickness upon the sand bed, which spread several feet outside of the wall, and on the east side two or three points of the outline that were found are also marked. No corners were found on the north; but a piece of stone basement from its levels, 282 to 287, seems as if it had formed the substructure of a gate in this wall, and so indicates where the wall line lay.

25. Pl. lvii. On reaching the XVIIIth Dynasty we find an entirely new order of things. At the west end an immensely thick brick wall remains, which was built to supplement and continue the partly destroyed wall of Usertesen. A pylon of red granite formed the outer face of the gateway in the wall, which was lined through the thickness of the wall with limestone facing, and a pavement of limestone. The date of this pylon is shown by the sculptures on it, pl. xxxiii, which represent Tahutmes III, as Osirified and worshipped by the *an mutef* priest. One block of the north jamb of the pylon remains in place, but is weathered away on all sides. The inscribed pieces are lying in hollows on the outer side of the gate. Along the axis of the gateway runs a drain, cut in blocks of limestone, and covered over by the pavement. It falls from 307 level, near the gate, to 290 on the eastern part, near pit 70; and at the turn to the outfall it is 280, and 272 at the mouth of the outfall. The ground north of the temple site is still low, and it seems likely that here was the first "sacred lake," or great brick-pit whence Pepy made the mud bricks for his temenos and buildings. The much larger hollow, which is still a lake, at the south of the whole site is probably that left from the great works of Usertesen I, when he built the huge fortification round the whole site. There being low ground close by, on the north,

it was used as a rubbish pit, containing masses of broken pottery and burnt earth; and the drain which we have traced was turned into it.

The drain marks the line of a causeway; this passed over the great sill of granite on the east, which probably marks the gateway in an outer wall, of which we found part of the sand bed. Further east this causeway was entered from the great eastern pylon in the outer fortification of Usertesen; and on the west it left the fortification by another gate (see pl. xlix). The purpose of this great line of causeway must have thus been to go across the fortress, past the temple, and on to the cemetery beyond, where it went through a great limestone portal-colonnade built by Ramessu II. It was evidently the line for funeral processions; and is probably the place referred to by Mariette as lined with steles when he found it.

The chapel of Amenhotep I, built in honour of his father Aahmes I, was preserved up to a couple of feet from the ground; but of the great temple of Tahutmes III and Amenhotep III, only a few blocks of foundation remained. All the rest had been entirely swept away and used for foundations in the XXVIth Dynasty; and only the foundation deposits were left to show its place.

26. The chapel of Aahmes was finely built of blocks of hard limestone, and well sculptured, as is shown in *Abydos I*, pls. front., lxii, lxiii, and lxiv. Unfortunately the stone having been for long near the surface, salt had accumulated in it, and split it in most cases very badly. When we came to remove it (with Prof. Maspero's consent) to follow the earlier construction below, the men were able to pick the stones into small slabs quite easily. Two of the pillars had brickwork built against them, evidently to save a cracked architrave. And, on the north of it, the pillars in a hall had in several parts been patched with brickwork, doubtless to support an injured roof. A curious feature is in chamber D, where the south end was filled with a solid bench of stone about three feet high, having a groove cut through its whole depth. The best suggestion is that it was to place a processional bark or standard upon, and the groove was to receive the pole by which the standard was carried.

27. The plan of the temple of Tahutmes III can only be traced by the foundation deposits of that king, and a few other indications. The brick retaining wall of the foundation remained on part of the east and south sides, and we know that the stone wall must have been somewhere within that boundary. This gives the direction, and two limits to the site. The position of the south side is indicated by the line of deposits, 84, 89, 116, 83, 88; and the position of the north side by the line of deposits 90, 104, 85, and 100. Adopting this breadth we see that the N.E. corner of the temple just cleared the line of the side of the causeway, as continued from the granite pylon. For the back of the temple there is the pile of sandstone blocks of Mentuhotep at B, on the top of Usertesen's basement; then, carrying this line down, we are led to end it at C, with a terminal corresponding to that which projects from the Aahmes chapel. The cross walls within the temple are probably indicated by the deposits as here marked; but which of them contained large halls and which were around groups of chambers, we cannot now ascertain.

In front of the temple a sand bed was found with a clear end to it. This probably shows the base of the temenos wall; and the position of the end would agree fairly to the insertion of a gateway in the axis of the temple. The granite sill, which is askew to the causeway, was doubtless square with this wall, which must have had a second entrance there.

Four foundation deposits of Amenhotep III (three marked here) appeared in the forecourt; they are not enough to define his building, but they show that Amenhotep, in true Egyptian

fashion, had built further in front of the work of his great-grandfather.

The "late paving" at the south of the Aahmes chapel consisted of slabs taken from various buildings. Among these were several of Amenhotep III, and two of Ramessu III, with a queen hitherto unknown named Thyi Mer-en-ast, see pl. xxxv. So it must have been laid down some time after the XXth Dynasty. The pavement is marked upon this plan because of its relation to the Aahmes chapel.

28. Pl. lviii. Under Ramessu III a great reconstruction took place. The causeway was entirely broken up along a large part of its course, and a deep excavation was made through all the earlier strata of building, to a depth at least as far as the Ist or IInd Dynasty level. This space was filled up with a deep sand bed, shown on the plan with dotted surface: and on this a great building was constructed. Only the basement of one wall of the building remains, at the east side of it. But in the sand bed, nearly symmetrically in each corner, a foundation deposit was placed in the sand; the positions are marked by the numbers 36 and 74, the levels were about 273 and 276, practically the same. The objects in these deposits were—

	in 36	in 74
Scarabs, plain	8	15
Plaques, inscribed	10	13
Heh sign	3	—
Sedheb sign	2	—
Bull's head	1	1
Bull's haunch	1	1
Rings	50	about 48

The plaques are very carelessly made, and can only be read by comparing them together. In the general style of the group, and the large quantity of rings, these deposits are much like those of Siptah, only poorer in quality.

29. The building which remained, to the south of this sand bed, appears to be all of one age; the pavement level of it slopes up gently from 306 and 312 at the north to 318 at the mid and south: and the direction of the walls implies a northern entrance. At B is apparently a column, and at C is the eastern jamb of a doorway. But all this stonework was much crumbled by the accumulation of salt in it. As to the date of this building there was a reused block of Tahutmes III; a re-used door jamb of Sety I, in the lower course; a bronze seated figure of Horus, like XXVIth Dynasty work, between the stones of the pavement; and 30 inches down in the mud bed, which is beneath the sand bed of the pavement, or about 234 level, was a pot with large green beads and a green glazed head of Ptah which I should suppose to be of the XXVIth Dynasty. It seems hard therefore to credit this building with any date before the XXVIth Dynasty. If so late, the building of Ramessu III was probably re-arranged then.

30. Coming further east we see the foundations and part of the south wall and entrance of a square temple built by Aahmes II, whose name is frequently found cut as a quarry-mark on the blocks. The length of the temple is quite clear from the south side, and the foundations on east and west. The axis is defined by the entrance, G, and the rows of foundation blocks, H, at the back; and the north side is fixed by the brick retaining wall at the N.E. corner. The two bases of columns are seen at G; south of them are left two blocks of the wall, and north of them two other blocks at a distance symmetric with the south wall. A fragment of a corner of the front is in line with the S.E. corner which remains at J. Hence the porch of the temple with its two columns is safely recorded. Among the stones laid roughly for the foundations at H are finely carved blocks and slabs of the temple of Tahutmes III, with the colour still fresh upon them. In the corner at K is a doorway, which from the cement upon the stones seems to have had a sill higher than the 365 level, perhaps of granite. This S.S.W. door to the temple is similar to the

S.S.W. door to the Tahutmes temple, at the back of the Aahmes chapel. Inside the temple, between K and H, were the pieces of the red granite shrine of Haa-ab-ra, which had probably stood here. (See *Abydos I*, pl. lxviii.)

At L is the eastern gate of the town fortification. The east half is of limestone, the west half of sandstone. There is nothing to show the age of this gate, though some gateway probably existed here from the time of the XIIth, and certainly from the XVIIIth Dynasty. The wall in which it is placed is of many ages, and has been so often patched that it would require a special study of every ten yards of it to disentangle its history. Probably it begins with Usertesen I, and in part it rests on town ruins of the Old Kingdom; elsewhere it rests upon buildings of the XIXth Dynasty, and parts of it are of Roman age.

31. Pl. lxii. Having now described the successive temple buildings of this site, some note may be given about the deposits which have been referred to in the plans.

Three deposits, 119, 81 and 117, are of one style; and from 117 belonging to the doorway of Pepy's temple, and the forms of the pottery (pl. xlv, 115) being copied from the alabaster vases of Pepy (pl. xxi, 8), it is clear that these are of the VIth Dynasty. No sand was placed with them, and the soil was only the brown muddy earth which had been dug out of the hole to begin with. In each deposit was an ox-head; for the deposit 81 seems to have been partly disturbed, as the pottery is deficient as well as the skull. The only forms of pottery are the two cups of pl. xlv, 114, 115, which are made of fine red pottery.

The deposit 92 is very different; the pit was filled with clean sand, and only contained small green glazed beads (tubes and rings), and a small model adze of copper. Owing to the depth below the building level at which deposits were placed the age of this is uncertain; but it seemed as if it belonged to the sand bed around it, and therefore probably to the Vth Dynasty.

The deposit 80 seems from the rough vases, like xlvi, 165, to belong to the XIth Dynasty. The great group of the XIth Dynasty, figs. 157-186 were so irregularly piled together that no plan could be shown; they were all buried in mud-earth without any clean sand.

The system of deposits was greatly expanded by Usertesen I, of whom we have Nos. 120, 121, 86, and 96. I was prevented from seeing 121 and the central deposit, and the plan 121 was drawn from memory by Mr. Rawnsley; but the other three I fully planned. The ox-head is always present, and some long bones, but no vertebrae or ribs. The forms of pottery are shown in xlvi, 187-197. The unusual matter in these deposits is the insertion of tablets of copper, alabaster, and glazed ware in the middle of bricks. Those marked A contained alabaster tablets inscribed (pl. xxiii), those with P had glazed pottery tablets, those with C had plain pieces of sheet copper, and those with B had a layer of burnt or carbonized matter, perhaps papyrus, inserted in the heart of the bricks. These bricks, and others which had no insertion, were formed at the time of the deposit, as they were soft and fell out of shape; their outside was whitewashed on one face. They are parallel to the bricks of mortar laid in the foundation deposit of Tausert. (*Six Temples at Thebes*, xvii, 1.)

The deposit 95 contained many very small copper models of chisels scattered over the tops of the pottery. It might by the level be of the XIth or any later Dynasty; and we do not know enough of the forms to fix the age, though perhaps this and 95 might more likely be of the early XVIIIth Dynasty.

Deposit 70 is of Amenhotep III, dated by the green glazed tile with his name cut on it. A similar one was found last year in another deposit, see *Abydos I*, lxi, 3.

Deposits 100 and 88 are not fixed in age, but

seem to be of the XVIIIth Dynasty; 109 is probably of Tahutmes III, by the copper models of tools found in it.

32. Pl. lxiii. The whole of these deposits are of Tahutmes III. The pottery is of the well known types of that age (see *Koptos*, xiv), except that the bottles swell out more towards the base than in previous examples. The alabaster model vases are shown in Pl. xxxii; and the types of copper tool models were published in *Abydos I*, lxi, 5. The sandstone corn grinders were often present; those which had a cartouche painted on them in blue paint are marked here with the oval, the plain stones are marked S. The copper tool models are found in nearly all of these deposits, marked C here where necessary. The little cups in 89 marked M were filled with white mortar. The order of the deposits on the plate begins with the east end of the temple and goes westward. The richer deposits are the eastern, and the and the poorer the western; it seems probable that different parts of the temple were built at different times, perhaps many years apart, during the long reign of Tahutmes III. All of these deposit holes were filled up with clean sand. It is certain that many of the vases were broken before burial, and not even in throwing them in, as only portions of some of them were found. The great quantity of pieces in some of the holes could not be drawn, and those here shown are only what were not broken up. There does not seem to have been any regular order of deposit; though the alabaster vases in 90 have been stacked together, and then upset in the throwing in the upper pottery. The annex to deposit 82 was hollowed out in the side of the hole, and contained all the copper models and an alabaster vase; a similar annex was found at Koptos (*Koptos*, xvi.).

33. Pls. lix, lx. For the sake of clearness I have here placed together in a diagram the more important levels of the various temples, and of the objects found. These will enable the relation of the different ages to be clearly seen, and the variety of levels in the site. The south side was always the highest; indicating that it was dwelt upon in early times, and so a mass of rubbish had accumulated there; then the slope is from the west region towards the eastern side, probably owing to the natural slope of the basal sand toward the river. The levelling operations of the XIIth and later Dynasties, and the substitution from that time of stone buildings which were carried away or reused, instead of crumbling brickwork, brought to an end the continuous accumulation which gives a chronological value to the lower strata. As the buildings have been described earlier in this chapter and the objects are described in the following chapters, there is no need to mention the details here.

34. Pl. lxiv. In *Abydos I*, pp. 18-22, I described the evidence given by the pottery and stone vases found in the tombs and the town, as compared with the prehistoric types and those of the Royal tombs. This is here given in a diagram; and, though the details need not be re-stated, the general conclusions may be pointed out. In the first columns are some of the types of prehistoric pottery in the order of their age, as shown by their *sequence dates* (see *Diospolis Parva*, 8-11). In the second column are types of pottery found at various levels in the town. The order of deposit is here the reverse of the actual section of the town, because it is more familiar to show the older objects at the top and the later lower down. Hence the basal sand is 0 at the top, and the heights of 10 to 110 inches above it are written running downwards. These heights over the basal sand have no fixed relation to the absolute levels used in this volume and this year's work. Here will be seen how each of the prehistoric types shown have their parallels in the town, and serve to link the later stages of sequence dates to the various heights of accumulation in the town. Next is shown the pottery of the tombs of the kings in chronological

order with the approximate dates; and it will be seen how this is parallel to that in the town, and how therefore the strata in the town are dated by the royal tombs, and hence the later sequence dates are linked to years B.C. These connections give thus an absolute continuity between the end of the long series of sequence dates and the beginning of the chronology in years.

CHAPTER II.

OBJECTS BEFORE THE IVTH DYNASTY.

35. In describing the objects found in the temple area we shall here first deal with the large groups of those which were found together, and then with the scattered pieces which stand apart.

The main group of early things was in a chamber just outside the early temple area, marked on pl. lii as 69, and known as M 69 in our numbering. This chamber was 116 inches on N., 115 S., 94 E., 97 W.; the bearing of it 216° magnetic, and the base of it at 207 inches level. Close by it, 30 inches to the east lay the piece of glazed vase of Aha—Mena, pl. iv and v, 32, at 215 level; apparently, therefore, thrown away at about the same time as the objects in the chamber, which were from 207 up to about 215. The chamber was covered all over the floor with a thick layer of organic matter, which formed a red-brown slimy mass, and which dried to a very light friable spongy consistency. This organic bed was about two to eight inches thick in different parts of the chamber, and cannot have been liquid originally, as it was at different levels. Embedded in this stuff were about 160 glazed objects, 30 large beads and many small, and about 30 ivory carvings. They had been thrown in quite irregularly, as will be seen by the plan of the chamber pl. lxi. All the distinctive objects are there numbered with reference to the figures in the plates; the great quantity of ape figures are not distinguished, and many of the ivories are not entered, as when found they had to be kept in lumps of earth till dry, so the forms were not seen. Most of the ivories and several of the glazed figures were broken when thrown in; and it is clear that this was a rubbish hole, and probably a latrine, where damaged offerings were thrown away from the temple. The generally early date of such objects is shown by the Mena vase; but they were doubtless old and worthless when thrown away. The date of the ejection of them is shown by the flint flakes 139, 140, pl. viii, which are of the age of Perabsen, or the middle of the IInd Dynasty (see *Abydos I*, xv); also by the jar, pl. xlii, 37, which is of the age of Perabsen (*Abydos I*, vii, 31), or perhaps a reign or two later; and by the vase xlii, 41, which is also near the form of Perabsen's (*Abydos I*, vii, 28). This pottery and the flints are not likely to have been kept for many years, and show the age of the filling up of the chamber to have been about the middle of the IInd Dynasty. The objects in it may then be probably assigned to various dates in the Ist Dynasty. The scale of each photograph is marked at the top left hand; this scale applies to all objects following it until re-stated.

Pl. i. These objects are described under the numbers of their photograph in pls. v, vii, viii.

36. Pl. ii, 1 is the figure of a boy walking; the face is broken. The attitude is quite free and natural, and the modelling is good.

2, a figure of a girl standing, 6½ inches high, is the largest ivory found, excepting another female figure in worse condition, but 10 inches high. This is in good state, but of formal work. It shows the mode of dressing the hair by binding it to one side, partly over the

shoulder; the same unsymmetrical placing, though with a plaited tail is in No. 40, fully figured on pl. i. All the female figures found at Hierakonpolis have the hair symmetrical.

3 is the head of a statuette of a king, enlarged to double size. The whole figure less enlarged is shown on pl. xiii. He is figured as wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, and a thick embroidered robe. From the nature of the pattern and the stiff edge represented, it looks as if this robe were quilted with embroidery: no such dress is known on any Egyptian figure yet found. The work belongs to an unconventional school, before the rise of the fixed traditions; it might have been carved in any age and country where good natural work was done. It shows a power of dealing with individuality which stands apart from all the later work, in its unshrinking figuring of age and weakness with a subtle character. It belongs to the same school of art as figures 1, 4, 5, 17, and 19; and these reveal a style which has hitherto been quite unsuspected, as preceding the more formal style of the Old Kingdom.

4 is half of a figure of a young boy, in the same natural style, of excellent modelling.

5 is part of the figure of a woman, with the hair in fine ringlets; the work is natural and delicate.

6 shows different work; simpler, and limited by the form of the material; the type of the man with a short pointed beard seems to belong to the prehistoric Libyan stock.

7 is a young boy with short, woolly hair, appearing negroid.

8 (three positions) is an infant boy with remarkably long flat head.

9, a young girl, is more like the late prehistoric work in the flat style of the face and body; a bead collar is shown on the neck.

10 is a good head of the natural style.

11, an *uas* sceptre, some pieces of the straight stem of which were also found.

12, a baboon, does not belong to this chamber, but was found at a lower level, 190.

13 is a fine head of one of the massive hunting dogs used in early times, wearing a collar.

14, the head of a boy.

15 is a young bear, with a short curly tail; the attitude and character of the animal are well given. This is the only figure of a bear yet known in Egypt, apart from foreign importation in the XVIIIth Dynasty.

37. Pl. iii, 16, the figure of an ape, is finely carved; the legs are completely separated one from the other. Owing to pressure in the wet soil the base has been forced askew.

17, 18, 19, are three well-carved figures of small boys, the large ear on the head of 19 should be compared with the ear of the old king (pl. xiii); the similar form shows that it represents a peculiar type.

20 (three positions) is a boat, which from the shortness of the open space seems to have been a copy of a dug-out canoe.

21 is a boy seated on the ground; a fragment of a head probably belonging to it is of delicate work.

22, a dog of lighter build than the heavy hound, 13.

23—29, lions used for gaming pieces, like the lions of Zer (*Royal Tombs*, ii; vi, 3, 4). All of these are later in style than those of Zer, or of Mena. No. 27 is probably the first here, and 28 perhaps the next advanced in work. Both 26 and 28 appear to be a lioness, and have a collar, showing that the animal was tamed. 29 has an eye accurately cut in chalcedony remaining in place.

30 is a dish, hollowed out on the back, carved as a cow with the legs tied together, a motive which is usual in the XVIIIth Dynasty and late periods.

Pl. iv. These objects are described under the numbers of the photographs in the following plates.

38. Pl. v, 31. A portion of a band of wall

tile, with a hawk, probably from a royal *ka*-name. The flat top of the name-square and the low tail of the bird show that it is after Mena, but the squat attitude is only on some of Zer (seals 105, 106) and one example of Zet (seal 1). This is probably therefore of the reign of Zer. The design is incised and filled in with coloured inlay: probably the original colours were green for the tile and purple for the inlay.

32. Fragment of a vase of king Aha-Mena, green with purple inlay originally. The restoration of the colour and form is shown on pl. iv, from accurate measurements of the piece 32 and other pieces of the neck; the open outline is only a conjectural completion of it. The style of the hawk and of the *ka*-name is exactly that known to belong to the reign of Mena, and this is evidently contemporary with the king. It shows that glazed work was already developed on a larger scale then, and with inlaid colours hitherto only known much later.

33. Glazed tile of uniform green colour, see also pl. i. It has no groove or dovetail on the back, but is quite plain; it does not seem therefore to have been intended to insert in a wall, but rather as if made for a votive offering. The figure is of a low type, the negroid variety of the prehistoric people, and neither of the pure Libyan nor dynastic races. From the inscription we must attribute him to the Anu, who are known as an aboriginal people in Egypt. He appears to be a chief named Tera-neter, "devoted to God," of the fortress of the Anu in the town of Hemen. This, and No. 36 introduces us to a style of work in relief on glazed tiles which has not been met with before.

34, 35, two figures of cast copper. The style is entirely un-Egyptian, and 34 is closely like copper figures found in the Diktaean cave in Crete, such as No. 436 in the Candia Museum.

36 shows two fragments of a glazed relief tile, with the signs *mer*, *ankh*, *zet*, *ta*, *zeser*, the corner of a *ka*-name (?), a town sign, and a ram holding an *uas* sceptre. See pl. i, for a coloured copy.

37 is a kneeling captive with the arms bound; compare the captive in *Hierakonpolis*, xxi, 2, 3; xxii, 3.

38, 39, figures of boys, with the hand to the mouth.

40, figure of a girl with close-fitting garment, cut in a V opening on front and back, see pl. iv. The hair is thrown to one side, and plaited in a tail on the back.

41, an old ape holding a young one in her arms, and with some other object, possibly a baby ape, see pl. iv.

42 to 48, human figures and fragments. With 46 compare *Hierak.*, xviii, 7. 47 bears a pot on the head, and wears only a girdle round the waist.

39. Pl. vi. 49 is a unique figure of a seated ape, with two small ones seated below the feet; the head is lost.

50-61, 64, 65. As many as sixty-nine figures of apes were found in this chamber, of which a selection of all the varieties is here given. Some, as 52, were large, and made hollow; others, as 58, were cut out of a flat sheet with hardly any detail.

63, a cow vaguely carved in quartz, probably glazed originally.

66-69, 78, quadrupeds, probably pig, dog, and lioness.

70, 71, 73, hippopotami. 72, frog. 74-76, crocodiles.

77, a figure with a lioness head, but swathed round cylindrically, with a line of edge running down it; see the repetition in fig. 136.

40. Pl. vii. 79, 80, birds.

81-84, hawks of early type, without legs; probably early in the Ist Dynasty.

85, locust ?, see also on pl. i.

86, ape walking, of simple but spirited work; see pl. i.

87, piece of inlay representing a stem and branches of a palm tree; see pl. i.

88, part of a hawk for inlaying, probably from a *ka*-name.

89, 90, probably figures of laden boats.

91, 92 are flat sheets of glaze, which look much like model axes; but this form of axe with lugs is quite unknown in metal till at least the XIIth Dynasty. There are, however, some stone axes with lugs which may possibly be earlier.

93-95, see pl. i. These lotus flower vases are as yet quite unknown at so early a date. If the cups or vases were copied direct from the flower, the smallness of the hole opening would be unlikely, and there would be no meaning in the raised disc on the top. But this disc is exactly the form for architectural use, in order to take the pressure of the architrave without breaking down the thin edge. It seems clear that these have been copied from lotus capitals, and hence this capital is taken back now to the Ist Dynasty; but whether the form was made in mud and reeds, or in stone, is not certain.

96, 97, large oval fruits or seed vessels, with four grooves from end to end.

98, 99 are copied from the cornflower, which was so fashionable in the XVIIIth Dynasty.

Of 100-107, Nos. 101, 103 are small inlay tiles with domed surface; 104, 107 are large ball beads. 105 may be a draughtsman.

108-110, model vases, the first two with purple glazed tops. 111, 113, globular vases on stands. 112, 116, 117-121, 124, 126, various forms of vases. 114, model stand. 115, 127, 128, 129, models of jars with clay sealings. 122, bowl broken from a figure, which held it between the hands. 123, spiral bead. 125, model of a basket lid of coiled work.

131, 132, model shrines or carrying chairs; one with a figure in it was found elsewhere, pl. xi, 243. Compare the figure in such a chair on the mace head from *Hierakonpolis*, xxvi B.

41. Pl. viii, 133-135, pieces of *uas* sceptres; 137-8, petals from a built-up flower, made from portions of an older slate bowl. 139-40, flint flakes, of the age of Perabsen.

141-3 appear to be toggles for fastening dress through a loop, like the frogs on a modern military cloak.

144-152, rings of slate. 153-170, beads of various forms.

171, 172, 174, pieces of glazed quartz for inlaying, as found at Hierakonpolis.

173, 175-178, pieces of small glazed tiles.

179, tile with mat pattern, perhaps as a tray for an offering, like the mat under the *hotep* offering.

180 shows the deep dovetail running along the back of a plain tile, with a groove along it ending in two holes through the ends; this groove was doubtless to hold a copper wire, by which all the row of tiles in a wall were strung together, so that no one could become detached.

181-183, the backs of two large tiles, and the front of one showing the ribbing. The wide dovetails on the back, intended to key into the wall, have two grooves for copper wires to secure them together. Across the back are signs roughly scored before baking; the royal *su*(*ten*) sign is on both, showing that they were made for the king; and on 181 are two other signs, apparently at right angles to the *su*, possibly reading as the mouth and hawk. If this is to be read as the Horus Ro it would put these back to the fourth king before Mena, which seems rather too remote; yet the rough style of the signs would agree with that age. The ribbing was evidently vertical, by the direction of the dovetail; and it probably represented a band of stems of water plants, like the favourite decoration around the lower part of a wall in later times.

42. Pl. ix. We now turn to some other groups which were found in the chambers shown at the N.W. corner of pl. lii. In the chamber 64 were the objects shown in pl. ix, irregularly placed on the floor, and the two large stones, 195, 196, set upright against the

side. We have already noted the difficulty about these things being found at so high a level. But whatever date they were placed here, it is clear that the objects are all of the Ist Dynasty, and some perhaps earlier.

184 is a female figure of pottery of the same style as the rough animal figures of early date. 185, 186, are two rough figures of men, which differ from any yet found in the forms of the head and rude indications of limbs. 187 may be intended for a child kneeling on the ground, and leaning forward on its hands. 188 is a red pottery hippopotamus.

The baboons form a strange group. 189 and 197 are of the usual work. 190 to 193 are larger and ruder than others, hardly more being attempted than the head; with them was 194, which is an entirely natural flint, with a projection somewhat like the head of a baboon, and apparently kept for this resemblance. The great natural flint 195 seems to have been kept as being like a quadruped, and 196 for its likeness to a baboon. No other large flints were found in the whole temple area, and these must have been brought a mile or more from the desert; as they were placed with the rudest figures of baboons that we know, it seems that we have here the primitive fetish stones picked up because of their likeness to sacred animals, and perhaps venerated before any artificial images were attempted.

198 is intended for some bird; and 199 is a hawk of the regular prehistoric style, see *Naqada*, lx, 15, 18, of earlier form than the hawk on any royal monument. It has a hole below for setting it on a pole as a standard.

200 is a frog in limestone. 201 is a piece of a small jar with wavy handle. 202, a baboon. 203, another natural flint, evidently kept for its very strange form. 204 is a well-carved figure of a calf in ivory.

205 is the hawk on a building, so well known in the *ka*-name. The tail sloping downwards is most like the form adopted under Zer; and the decoration by drilling little holes is like that on the turquoise pieces of Zer's bracelet (*R. T.* ii, pl. i). It is probable therefore that this piece belongs to that age. It is the only slate carving that we found in the whole site (Cairo Museum).

43. Pl. x. The west chamber, M 65, contained similar objects; part of the group was found further out on the west, and so was differently numbered as 89; but they are reunited here, two fragments of the same figure, 225, being found, one in group 65, the other in 89.

206 is a ram-head amulet in hard yellow limestone; this and 208, a bird in slate, seem to belong to the prehistoric style. The girl's head, 207, and pieces of figures, 209-212, are of the Ist Dynasty class. 213 is perhaps a figure of the dwarf Ptah, like that in *Hierakonpolis* xviii, 19. 214 is a Ist Dynasty frog. 215 a bit of mat tile. 216 has been a very important piece, but unhappily the *ka*-name of the king has been lost; the legs of the king, a heart sign, and some uncertain objects, show that a royal group existed here. It was broken before being thrown away. 217-219 are the usual baboons. 220 is a figure of the *zet* serpent chipped in flint: this is like the portion of a flint serpent in *Hierakonpolis*, xxiv, 22, and another found at Koptos. The baboon 221 is a different type to the common one, having the head lower, and the arms hanging down to the feet. 222 is a limestone frog. 223 part of a quadruped. 224 a head, which seems certainly that of a camel, yet so far the camel is quite unknown before the Greek times in Egypt. 225 is a hippopotamus, and 226 is another, well worked in alabaster. 227 is another frog. 228 a large coarse flint knife for an offering, see *Hierakonpolis* xxv. Broadly, these two chambers contain things more like the deposit of Hierakonpolis than are those in chamber 69; and therefore we may consider these as belonging

partly to the pre-Menite age, as the Hierakonpolis things seem to belong to Narmer.

44. Pl. xi. We now turn to the objects found separately in the temple area, and not in groups like those in the preceding plates.

229 is a piece of thin glazed tile for inlaying; probably part of a plant, like the cornflowers 98, 99. It suggests that the ribbed tiling representing stalks of papyrus round the lower part of a room, may have ended in a row of papyrus heads along the top.

230 is a seated female figure, which has originally been blue with purple spots, now altered to white and brown.

In 231 there is the same colouring; two such vaselets were found together, and their position is marked on pl. lii, north of F. Most of the other small glazed figures were found west of this in the region south of 92, as if thrown out of the temple southwards.

232 is a pendant of calcite found at 170 level; this is about 50 over sand, and agrees, therefore, to a similar pendant from Tomb M 14 (*Abydos I*, xliv), which belongs to about 60 over sand (*Abydos I*, 21), in the reign of Merneit.

233 is the lowest of the baboon figures.

234 is one of the small convex tiles for wall decoration, like those of the step pyramid of Saqqara (*Zeits. Aeg. Sp.*, xxx, 1); this shows that so far from such tiles being unknown in the IIIrd Dynasty, they were usual at the beginning of the Ist Dynasty. For similarly early titles see *Hierakonpolis*, xviii, 2.

The type of ape, 235, is different from others in the closeness of the feet and the good rounded modelling, altogether more like the ivory iii, 16. The colouring was blue and purple, now white and brown.

236-244 are vases on stands, a familiar form here, 111, 113, &c., and also in *Hierak.*, xx, 11. With this at 190 level were also the piece of glazed tile 237, baboon 238, boy 239, frog 240, boat 241, hawk 242, and shrine or palanquin 243.

Another small group at 198 level is the frog 245, lion 246, ape 235, repeated as 247, baboon 248, tile of mat work 249, pieces of quartz 250, 251, and slate ring 252.

253 is a baboon in hard brown limestone, of fine work, found with some ordinary glazed baboons at 220 level, and therefore the latest of such figures.

254, 255 are in red pottery and green glaze, and seem to represent skins stretched out to dry.

256 is in brown pottery, and is the oldest human figure found here, probably before the Ist Dynasty.

257, 258 are pottery heads of unknown age, found in shifted rubbish.

259 is an unusual type of head found at the low level of 134.

260 is from the group M 64, and shows a thick-haired type.

261 is a large head, well modelled though rough, in brown pottery with red paint, of about the Ist Dynasty. (Cairo Mus.)

Pl. xii. Some rough mud dolls, 262-265, were found at early levels.

266 is a large pan or *magur*, on opposite sides of which are two figures of ships, and also two palm branches. The form of the high ends to the vessel is seen in the black boat painted on the tomb at Hierakonpolis, and also in some of the ivory models from there. The square upon it seems to be a sail, as it has a middle line for a mast, and it is not divided into separate blocks as it would be for cabins; the wavy line below represents the water. This is the only early figure of a sailing boat beside that on the vase in the British Museum, all the other figures of ships being rowing galleys.

267-269 are of black pottery burnished, probably from Crete as described under the pottery, pl. xlii, 20-36.

270-273 are red pottery stands which were

commonly used through the early dynasties; 273 is the only instance of decoration, and the figure of the ram is well modelled. The punched triangles are the substitutes for the triangular perforations as in *Denderch* xvi, 38. These are probably the survival of a form built up of interwoven reeds plastered with mud.

45. 274 is a cylinder of black steatite, with *ka* arms, jackal, and ibex; it was found below the chapel of Aahmes at 186 level, or 11 below a flint flake of the type of Zer, and therefore about the age of Mena.

275 is another of the black cylinders of the usual type of such, with a seated figure before a table of offerings. This is however the finest known in its condition, as it has the original polish and is quite unworn. It reads intelligibly, though all others are more or less blundered, and records the "servant of Neit, servant of Khnumu, Teta." There are five others known mentioning Neit, and two of them with Khnumu, but none have the title of servant, *hon*, to connect with the names of the deities. This was found in house rubbish at 187 level to the west of the temple (marked on pl. li as 186).

276 is a worn cylinder of white limestone. The subjects are, a tank with four birds around it, a long-nosed dog with a bird in front, and two crocodiles head to tail; intermixed in the blank spaces are smaller figures of birds, &c., which are too much worn to be clearly understood (see pl. xvi, 12). This was found in a pit, in ground at 187 level. It is a mere coincidence that these cylinders were all found at exactly the same level to an inch in different regions; but it shows that they are of about the same age.

277 is an incised figure of a deer on a stand of red-faced pottery, probably of the IVth or Vth Dynasty.

278 is the earliest inscription from the temple, on a piece of an upright vase of brown limestone. It reads *Khenti men Upuat*, showing that it belonged to the furniture of the temple of Upuat. As it was found in the chambers which are north of E on pl. l, it seems to show that the adjoining earliest temple was that of Upuat and not of Osiris.

279 is a portion of a bowl of rock crystal with the inscription *nub hez hep* above a boat; possibly it belonged to the furniture of a royal boat.

CHAPTER III.

OBJECTS OF THE IVTH–XXVITH DYNASTIES.

46. Pl. xiii. The ivory statuette of the king of the Ist Dynasty has been already described, under pl. ii, 3.

The ivory statuette of Khufu is the first figure of that monarch that has come to light. In connection with the whole figure here shown, the more enlarged photographs of the head should be studied on pl. xiv, 284. Happily, the *ka*-name of Khufu upon the front of the throne leaves no possible doubt on the identity of the figure. The work is of extraordinary delicacy and finish; for even when magnified to double the size on pl. xiv, it does not suggest any imperfection or clumsiness, but might have belonged to a life-size statue. The proportion of the head is slightly exaggerated; as, indeed, is always the case in minute work: but the character and expression is as well handled as it might be on any other scale, and is full of power and vigour. The surface was highly polished; much of this polish remains, and the face is happily quite perfect, except that the end of the nose is slightly worn. The ear is very true in form, and correctly placed. The idea which it conveys to us of the personality of Khufu agrees with his historical position. We see the energy, the commanding air, the indomitable will, and the firm ability of the man who stamped for ever the character of the Egyptian monarchy, and outdid all time in the scale of his works. No other Egyptian king that we know resembled this head; and it stands apart in portraiture, though perhaps it may be compared with the energetic face of Justinian, the great builder and organizer. The figure was found in the midmost of the three store chambers marked C in pl. li, along with a great quantity of pieces of wooden statues of the same age, of which only the films of surface stucco remained. The head was broken from the body by the accident of digging, and was lost in the earth, where it was only recovered by three weeks of incessant sifting.

47. Pl. xiv. A fragment of a slate bowl, 280, of King Zet is closely like his work found in the royal tombs.

281, 282 are early amulets; the bull's head was found at 177 level, and therefore of the Ist Dynasty. The beetle amulet was at 120, and must belong to the time of the earliest kings. In the town the beetle amulet was of the same age, but the bull's head amulets were earlier than that here. (*Abydos I*, li, 4, 5, 7.)

283 is a piece of a diorite cup with a figure of an ox, *su* and *t* signs; from their positions with *t* not beneath *su* they are probably part of the group *suten baty*. The twists of burnt clay, 285-287, have been mentioned already as the votive offerings thrown into the great ash bed which was the only religious centre of the IVth Dynasty. They appear to be the substitutes for the sacrifices which Khufu had abolished.

288 is a clay sealing of Userkaf, the only such known.

289-291 are alabaster vases of the same form; which, by the inscription of User-en-ra on 289, may be dated to the Vth Dynasty.

292 is an ink slab of chert highly polished,

and of beautiful work, but not quite so regular as that of Assa (*History*, i, 80); it is probably of the Vth Dynasty, and its position is marked to the south of the store chambers on pl. lii.

293 is the decree of Userkhau Neferarkara of the Vth Dynasty. The drawing gives the inscription clearly on pl. xviii. This was found face downwards at C on pl. lii, near the similar decree of Teta. See Mr. Griffith's chapter for the translation.

48. Pl. xv. Some of the copper tools were of new types. The chisels 1, 8, 10 are of the common form, and belong to the Old Kingdom. But the tools with turned-up edges, 2 and 7, are as yet unknown; and nothing has been seen quite like the form 4 which might be a fire tender, like the later Greek form (*Naukratis I*, xl, 6). The chisel with cylindrical handle, 11, is new to us. The pointed chisels or borers, 5, 6, and the flat chisel, 12, are all well known. The ages of these are best judged by comparing the levels with pls. lix, lx. The arrow, 9, was in the midst of the sand bed of Sankhkara, and therefore dates that form to the XIth Dynasty. The lead model of a knife, 13, was in loose top rubbish, and is probably Greek or Roman. The weight, 14, is of about 2,080 grains, and so the 30 numeral on it must refer to a unit of half a *kedet*. It was found at 190 level, and is of the Old Kingdom. The ebony palette for a scribe, 15, was not found in the temple, but in one of the tombs of the XXVIth-XXVIIIth Dynasty.

49. Pl. xvi. These sealings were found scattered in various parts of the site, mostly about the houses outside of the temple itself. None of them are identical with those private ones already known from the royal tombs; but from the style we should attribute 1-7 to the Ist Dynasty, and 8-11, 14 to the IInd Dynasty. 12 is of the Ist Dynasty by its level (see description of pl. xii, 276). No. 18 is of historic value, as it gives for the first time the *ka*-name of Menkaura. No. 19 scarcely seems like *User ab* (Khafra) as it has *t* and *ta* superfluous; possibly it is *ast-ab-tani* (Userenra). No. 20 is of Userkaf, and seems to mention in the Vth Dynasty the same place of "Ships of the king," which occurs on sealings of the IInd Dynasty (*Royal Tombs* ii, xxii, 178, 179). Nos. 21 and 22 are of Sahura, Vth Dynasty.

50. Pls. xvii, xviii. These two decrees were found close together lying face down, as shown at C on the plan, pl. lii. The *ka*-name Userkhau does not occur in the usual lists, and at first I supposed it to be of king Userkara, Aty; but it is on the Palermo stone, as the *ka*-name of Neferarkara, and hence this decree is of the Vth Dynasty. They had apparently been placed one on each side of the road leading to the north entrance of the cell of burnt offering, and the ground of offerings beyond. The inscriptions are injured by weathering (as seen on pl. xiv, 293), many signs are entirely lost, and others hard to distinguish. The translations are given in Mr. Griffith's chapter.

Pls. xix, xx. The lintel of Pepy II was found among the basement stones of Usertesen I in the western square of building. It retains some of the red colouring, and is the earliest architectural instance of the winged disc and serpents, see pl. xxi, 16. The stele of Pepy II is the lower edge of a large stone, which was found in place, inserted in a wider base-block in front of the temple of Pepy (see pl. liii). All the upper part had perished, down to the level of the mud ground in which it was embedded, see pl. xxi, 15. The lower part was much scaled and fragile, so that the flakes of the inscribed face could only be removed piecemeal. The slab showing a seated queen was used in the pavement of Sankhkara, and belongs to either Pepy I or Merenra. The piece with the name Pepy is from the same pavement. The defaced block has had *ankh hor mery tani* at the top, the *ka*-name of Pepy I, followed by a long list of offerings. This is like the list of offerings on the temple walls of

Mentuhotep III. (pl. xxiv), and of Usertesen II at Kahun; probably it came from the temple of Pepy, and it was reused by Sankhkara.

51. Pl. xxi. The copper vase, 1, was found in the mud soil outside the Pepy temple, and had probably been cast out from that. It is the regular *hes* vase, which also forms part of the group *khent*, and was used for offerings from early times onward; the only examples yet known are those of the XXIst Dynasty from the Deir-el-Bahri deposit.

2 is a hollow copper vase, and another like it was also found. Both contained vegetable matter, apparently a roll of papyrus. These seem to be holders for written charms, which dwindled in size to the pretty little silver or gold cases of the thickness of a pencil in the XIIth Dynasty; such yet contained papyrus, but a later stage was a thin gold foil cover with solid resin inside.

3, 4 are two copper bowls of the age of Pepy.

5 to 10 are alabaster vases, all of which (except 7) are of the same type, and dated by no. 8 to Pepy I. No. 7 is of Pepy II, and shows a scantier and less graceful form. These, with the Vth Dynasty vases (xiv, 289-291), will serve well to date the varieties.

At 11 are two from a group of eight copper feathers found buried together. The copper was coated with stucco to receive the impress of the feathering, which was marked on the gold foil. They had been all thrown into a corner of the Pepy temple (see pl. liii), along with some stuccoed woodwork which was entirely decayed. They must have belonged to several statues.

In front of the door of the Pepy temple a group of green glazed tablets lay close together; five of them of Pepy I, in relief on both sides, all with similar inscriptions, both of which are shown here; and one of Pepy II, with a single incised inscription. All record the first *sed heb* festival of the king; and they seem as if they had been dedicated at that festival. The stele 15 and lintel 16 have been described already in pl. xix.

17 to 22 are pieces of glazed inlay, which had been inserted in the stucco face of a wooden box; the stucco around them was gilt. 17 and 19 are buds. 18 is a *shesu* of green glaze, the middle filled with gilt stucco, and the centre of bright carnelian. 20 is a white (originally blue?) petal. 21 an *ab* heart sign in green and black glaze. This system of decorating boxes has come down from the late prehistoric time (*El Kab* viii, 2); a box covered with gilt stucco, and with copper handles, was found crushed up at 197 level; and similar work is known in early Crete.

52. Pl. xxii. A group of copper tools and mirrors was found corroded together in one mass, at a little to the west of H on pl. liii. The level was 228, and therefore they were probably on the floor of some chamber of the Pepy buildings near H, the walls of which were indistinguishable. The forms are certainly far earlier than those of the XIIth Dynasty, see, for instance, *Kahun*, xvii. But the round-headed adzes 7 and 8 are later than that of the IVth Dynasty, see *Medum* xxix, 11. Hence the VIth Dynasty date of the level will fit the character of these without question. The chisels 1 and 2 are of the type which lasted from Ist to the XIIth Dynasty. The axes 3 and 4 are quite different in outline from those of the XIIth Dynasty, but we have no earlier dated ones until we go back to the IInd Dynasty, where those of Khasekhemui have the rounded outline, but no lugs for securing them (*R.T.* ii, xlv, 27). So these form a valuable link. The adzes, 7, 8, have the rounded head of the IVth Dynasty but are much wider, and almost like those of the XIIth in the blade, although the head was different then. So here again is an intermediate form which helps the series. The knife, 9, is very different from those of the XIIth and later times, nor is it like any of the flint knives. The mirrors, 5, 6, are not distinctive in date so far

as is yet known. Rusted on to this group of tools, and certainly belonging to it, was a mass of iron, which may have been a wedge. This is over 2,000 years older than any iron yet known in Egypt, and is therefore of great importance as showing that occasionally iron was known at a far earlier age than that of its ordinary use.

The halbert, 10, is of iron, and was found in the deep sand bed of Ramessu III, so is probably of his age, and the oldest iron weapon known in Egypt. The iron swords, 11 and 12, were found in high rubbish of the town last year, and are quite undated. 12 might well be before the XXVIth Dynasty, as it does not seem to have any Greek influence on the form. 11 looks more like a mediæval type.

53. Pl. xxiii. 1, 2. Sandstone block of Mentuhotep and limestone block of Sankhkara, also drawn on pl. xxv, under which head they are described below.

3. Limestone block with figure of Osiris, a king, and offerings. The king has a part of a cartouche *Ra-kha*, probably *Ra-kha-khau*, Usertesen III. But all this name and figure are over an erasure, and therefore the rest of the work belongs to an earlier age. It is too poor in drawing for Pepy, or any XIIth Dynasty king; but it seems not unlikely that it belonged to the temple of Sankhkara.

4 is a black granite statuette of a vizier, with the formula down the back, but no name engraved. It was found in the sand under the wall of Usertesen I at the east end; and hence it must be of the XIth Dynasty or very early XIIth.

5 is a foundation deposit plaque of alabaster with inscription for the palace of the *ka* of Sankhkara. This apparently means a funerary chapel like that built for Aahmes I. The block was found under the W. wall of Tahutmes III close to a large pit which had been anciently emptied, marked "Deposit?" at W. end of pl. lv.

6-8. Foundation deposit plaques of Usertesen I, 6 of alabaster, 7, 8 of glazed pottery. These were inserted in the midst of mud bricks placed in the deposits, with other plain plaques of copper. See the account of foundation deposits, sect. 31, p. 20.

9, 10. Limestone coping of a wall of Usertesen I with rounded top, showing how a free-standing wall was finished off.

11. Limestone lintel of Usertesen I, see pl. xxvi.

Pl. xxiv, xxv. The inscriptions of Mentuhotep III are all upon blocks of soft brown sandstone. They were parts of a shrine containing long lists of offerings for the statue of the king, and this was therefore a funereal chapel like that of Usertesen II at Kahun. The earlier list of offerings of Pepy I shows that such were placed in temples, not connected with the actual tomb of the king. All of these blocks had been reused as foundations, probably in the XVIIIth Dynasty.

The blocks of Sankhkara are of limestone. They had been reused in foundations by Usertesen I and Tahutmes III.

54. Pl. xxvi. Not much of Usertesen I was found, although from the size of his stone foundations and the outline of his temple it must have contained much sculpture. The limestone lintel here was found with another in worse condition, reused in some rude construction. The jamb below it does not belong to the same doorway.

The stele of Atha is roughly cut in black granite, and is very difficult to read.

The statuette of the vizier Ameny is of black granite; and is identical in style of dress and work with the uninscribed statuette found beneath the wall of Usertesen I, and therefore of the early XIIth Dynasty. The name Ameny would well agree to this age.

Pl. xxvii. A block of limestone with standards of gods appears from its size and style to have belonged to the temple of Usertesen I. It was found in the western square of building.

The block of limestone with grooves in the face of it has been described in the account of pl. liii. It was probably for holding two staves at the door of the temple, the prototypes of the masts placed on either side of the temple doors in the XVIIIth Dynasty. Several of the blocks in the temple had quarry marks painted on them with a brush full of red haematite paint, just such as is used to mark all the baggage on the Egyptian railway at present. These I copied as they were found. They seem to refer to the source of the stone in earlier instances, No. 2 being from Kusae, Nos. 3 and 4 from the Oryx nome. The later ones name the destination at Abydos, Nos. 7—10.

Pl. xxviii. A colossal red granite statue of Usertesen III was set up by Tahutmes III at the west face of his granite pylon. It has been overthrown and broken; the inscriptions down the back and the edge are here given. (Compare *khenti kau ankhu* in *L. D.* iii, 36.)

By the side of the quartzite door-sill at the south of the temple were found parts of two black granite door jambs of Sebekhotep III. Of one jamb two blocks comprised nearly the whole; but the other jamb had been broken into scattered fragments, which had to be copied separately and fitted together on paper. The two jambs are almost identical, only Khentamenti being substituted for Unnefer the great god. These show a high standard of work in the XIIIth Dynasty, more costly than anything until the time of Tahutmes III.

Pl. xxix. The small limestone altar of Ankhu is a type less usual in the XIIth Dynasty than in later times.

The limestone stele of Senbtefi is important as showing that Osiris is connected with Memphis (*Ankh-tawi*) rather than Abydos; while Upuaut is called the lord of Abydos. This is in accord with the dominance of the jackal god here in early times to the exclusion of Osiris.

The inscription of Ameny is from a seated black granite figure of the XIIth Dynasty. The man is seated on the ground, with one knee raised, the other flat, and the inscription is on the lap of the garment. The figure was stolen from my house; and though the thieves were accused by report, and the foot of one agreed with the very peculiar footprint of the thief who took the statue, yet no conviction could be obtained. It is said that £35 of bribes were given in the case.

55. Pls. xxx, xxxi. These steles found in various parts of the temple site are dealt with by Mr. Griffith. The stele of Penthen, however, deserves some historical notice. The throne name is *Ra sekhem khu-tawi*, and this is closely like that of *Ra sekhem shedi tawi*, Sebekemsauf II; and also like a king whose name was found at Ballas, *Ra sekhem men tawi* Tahuti (*Naqada* xliii, 4). Now the king's son on our stele is named Tahuti-aa, "the great Thoth"; and it is to be considered whether he is not the same as king Tahuti. As Sebekemsaf I was working a large granite statue, and quarries in Hamamat, he must have been of importance, and have lived before the decay of the Middle Kingdom. So the more likely order would be—

Ra sekhem nefer khau,	Upuatemsaf.
Ra sekhem uaz khau,	Sebekemsaf (I).
Ra sekhem shedi tawi,	Sebekemsauf (II).
Ra sekhem khu tawi,	Penthen.

his son

Ra sekhem men tawi,	Tahuti.

These names seem closely linked together by their forms. But whether they belong to the XIIIth Dynasty or somewhat later is as yet quite unknown.

Pl. xxxii. 1. Inscription of a king whose Horus name, or *ka* name, was Merut, and throne name Ra-u-aqer. He is quite unknown hitherto, but probably belongs to the XIVth Dynasty. The block was side by side with blocks of the Usertesen paving, or it might have been added to them in reconstruction. Yet the position, the resemblance of the stone to that of the VIth and XIth Dynasties, and the termination

ager, may lead us to consider the VIIth Dynasty as a possible age for this.

2. Stele of Penthen, described in the previous plate and by Mr. Griffith.

3. Stele of Antef, Nub-kheper-ra, followed by his keeper of the seals, Aahnefer.

4, 5. Fragments of cartouches of Antef and Sebekamsaf. The colouring of these, and of another slab of Antef not published, is in blue-grey, red, and yellow; and the tints are exactly the same under both these kings. This is an argument in favour of the later date which has been assigned to Antef V.

6. Quartzite sandstone upper part of a statue. From the material it is probably of the XIIth or XIIIth Dynasty; and the face is closely like that of Neferhotep or his brother Sebekhotep III. As monuments of both these kings have been found in the temple, this might well be either of them.

7 is a very beautiful figure of a queen in low relief of great delicacy. The style of the hieroglyphs and figure is exactly that of Amenemhat I at Koptos, and I could not suppose that such work would recur in another age. The queen is evidently an heiress to the kingdom, having the uraeus on her head; and she might well be the daughter of Sankhkara through whom Amenemhat gained the kingdom and founded the XIIth Dynasty.

8. Head of Aahmes I offering. Compare his portraits in *Abydos I*, frontispiece. This is not part of his chapel, as he is here represented as a living person, without the *menat*.

9. Foundation deposit vases of alabaster, with the name of Tahutmes III. See the section on deposits, p. 21.

10. Sandstone ushabti of Amen-em-hes, which will be fully published in the next volume.

11. Black granite seated figure of Amenhotep, Steward of the palace at Memphis and Treasurer. The hand holds a palm spathe, which is very rare. For the inscription see Mr. Griffith's chapter.

56. Pl. xxxiii. The great pylon of red granite, set up at the western exit of the causeway, was overthrown and broken up, and the pieces now lie to the west of it. Among the blocks some are inscribed, and these are copied on this plate. The top left-hand piece is clearly part of the top of the lintel. Below that is Tahutmes III in Osiride dress (see *L. D.* iii, 49, 51), with the panther's skin on a pole before him, as before Osiris. In front of this block is a piece which seems to have the end of the panther skin, a staff, and the knee of an *An-mut-f* priest. The next block has the legs of the same priest with the tail of the panther skin. There then appears a base with sloping sides which supported some central object. Beyond that are legs of another *An-mut-f* priest turning toward the other side, evidently to adore another figure. This would imply a total breadth of at least 123 inches for the lintel, and a height of about 76 inches; the gateway is about 87 wide, and the whole distance across the jambs 153 inches. The piece at the right-hand base does not seem as if it could fit into such a subject as the above; the forked end of the *uas* is the right-hand edge of the scene, and there seems to be the end of the title *An-mut-f*. The large strip of titles at top right is probably from the jamb; and the piece at left base is probably part of the other jamb with a long multiple cartouche of both names in one. Possibly the whole lintel subject was not symmetrical; there may have been on the left the deceased Tahutmes III seated, and the priest; on the right another priest and Amenhotep II standing, and so leaving room for the columns of explanatory inscription about the priest. This would then go well into the whole lintel of 150 inches wide.

57. Pl. xxxiv. These pieces of a great list of offerings are all carved on very hard white limestone, the cutting shallow and left rough in the hollows. They were all found at the west end, or inmost part of the temple of Tahutmes.

Pl. xxxv. Sandstone slab of Sety I with

figure of Hapi. This is the only trace of building by Sety in the Osiris temple. The edges of it are skewed about 20°, as if a doorway had gone obliquely through a wall.

2. Grey granite figure of Pa-ra-hotep, remarkable for the fine work of the back. He was brother of Unnefer the great high priest of Osiris, and was vizier under Ramessu II. See Mr. Griffith's chapter.

3. Slab of Ramessu II with rounded top; about 5 inches thick above, and then about 20 inches thick at the lower third, having an L-shaped section. The use of it is not clear.

4. Back of a group of Nezem, keeper of the Ramesseum at Thebes, see pl. xxxviii.

5. Steatite statuette of a prince Pa-khred-na-ahu son of Ramessu.

6. Pyramidion of black quartzose stone of Theper, and his mother Khati and sister Tauraa.

7. Part of kneeling figure holding altar, inscribed on top, front, both sides, back, and under side with cartouches of Ramessu IV. Dark grey quartzose stone.

8. Slab of Ramessu III and queen Thyimer-en-ast who is hitherto unknown. (Cairo Museum.) Another slab with her name, but no head, was also found; both were turned face down in the late paving south of the Aahmes chapel.

Pl. xxxvi. At the top is the scene on a small limestone stele, which is of unusually delicate work in the features.

The inscription below is from the front of a seated figure in black granite of Amenhotep, royal scribe over the palace at Memphis, and over the treasury. The photograph of this is given on pl. xxxii. 11. From the character of the head I should suppose it to belong to the reign of Amenhotep II or Tahutmes IV. The work is graceful, and finer than usual in such memorials; and the figure is seated on a low step, which is not often shown. It was found just inside the pylon of Tahutmes, as marked on pl. lvii.

Pl. xxxvii. The black granite head of Neb-en-maat is probably of the time of Ramessu II by the style of it. The face is injured, and nothing more could be found of the body.

The seated brown granite figure of Pa-ra-hotep is of the best work of the reign of Ramessu II; the character of the face, the wavy hair, the muscular detail of the back, and the cushion for a seat are all unusual at that period. The photographs of the figure are given in pl. xxxv. This *vezir* was brother of Minmes, and half brother of the great Unnefer, high priest of Osiris, by the same mother (see *Abydos I*, 47). The large inscription is on the front, the strip below on the base. The two upper small inscriptions are on the arms; the pectoral between the arms; and the lower inscriptions are at either side of and between the feet. The translation is given in Mr. Griffith's chapter.

Pl. xxxviii. The upper inscriptions of Unnefer and Nezem were found in a group of sculptures which had been thrown together against the north wall of the XVIIIth Dynasty temple, but south of the causeway. There seems to have been a grouping of sculptures here on both sides of the causeway, as the figures of Amenhotep and Rahotep were opposite. (Pl. lvii). The inscription of Nezem is on the back of a limestone group of two figures, much decayed and broken. There was also (2) a group of a goddess, Osiris, Ramessu II, and a goddess, with cartouches at the sides of the front, much decayed limestone; (3) a squatting limestone figure, much split, with inscriptions on back, base, and down front; (4) a limestone baboon, which was badly split; (5) a block of limestone of L section, the outside of the upright limb having the cartouches of Ramessu II (pl. xxxv, 3); (6) a neck of a Roman amphora of the first century A.D., which shows when these pieces were heaped together.

The lower inscription of Auy is below a group of figures of Auy and the gods, too much broken to be worth reproducing.

Pl. xxxix. All of these pieces were found in the previous season at the temple site. First is a block with part of a large Nile boat carved on it; the boat has been decorated with a row of adoring figures, standing where higher, kneeling where lower (like the adaptations in a Greek pediment); these probably represented worshippers of the figure head of the boat, perhaps the ægis of some god. Such decorated boats are unknown as yet. The figure of a harper is interesting, as showing the harp on a portable folding stand, like a camp stool.

The lower pieces are all from a hard limestone statue of Mut-tuy, the seventeenth daughter of Ramessu II. The vulture was around the back of the crown. This is the first monument known of this princess, who is otherwise only named on the list at Luqsor.

CHAPTER IV.

FLINT KNIVES AND POTTERY.

58. Pl. xl. Although many flint flakes were found scattered in the temple area, there was no great number of well worked flints, only a third of what were found in about the same space of town last year. They are nearly all later than those found in the town; and it will be seen that the general type of the earlier ones with a spur at the end of the handle, gives way to straight handles, and even to the smooth curve with a mere notch in it, as Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, and 10. This dates this form, and shows that it is of the end of the Old Kingdom, and later than the Royal Tombs, in which it was never found. The tips of all these knives being more pointed than those from the tombs may be due to being worn away with scraping; but they seem more pointed than those used in the earlier town, so the pointing may be reckoned a late character, as well as the handle notch in a curved front, and the convex line of the back.

Pl. xli. The one important flint here is 33, which gives another link between the prehistoric lance and the *peshken* amulet; the size and form is that of the lance, yet it would not cut, and it is so late (VIIth—XIth Dynasty) that it must be regarded as an amulet. (See *Abydos I*, 24).

Pl. xlii. Here the number at the right-hand base gives the level in inches in the temple levelling. Only three stone vases were found in the temple site. No. 1 is a piece of a rock-crystal bowl, of which the inscription is given on pl. xii, 279. The boat with a crowned hawk on it seems to be a royal vessel; probably this belonged to the royal boat. Another piece of a vase is described under pl. xii. A third stone vase is the plain diorite bowl found in the great store chambers (C on pl. li) at 176 level, near the original floor, and so of an early dynasty.

59. *Pottery of the Ist Dynasty and Earlier.* These forms are already pretty well known in the town of this age; Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, and 17 have all been found within the first fifty inches of the town, or before the end of the reign of Zer. On comparing these and others levelled in the town and in the temple, the middle result from sixteen different forms is to show that the basal sand line is equal to 115 level in the temple site, which accords closely with what we otherwise know. (See *Abydos I*, pl. xxxviii).

Black Pottery, Ist Dynasty. 20 to 36. This class of pottery is unlike any known in early Egypt. The small cups 20 to 30 are black all through, hard, and not polished in general. They often contained remains of a brilliant red ochre. The vases 32 to 36 are thicker, rather softer, with a polished face, sometimes showing burnished lines, as for instance, up and down the jar 36. The forms of the vases are clearly of the Greek family; the hollow foot is specially western, seen under 33 but broken, and also in the foot of 35; the amphora form with a concave curve in the neck is also western; this, and the little vase 35, I should have put to a Greek source of the XXVIth Dynasty had they been without a history. A piece of the neck of 36 placed side by side with black pottery of the late neolithic age from Knossos was indistin-

guishable in colour, burnish, and general appearance. They belong to one fabric; and the source of that is presumably Cretan. Probably the rougher little cups contained paint which was imported to Egypt.

Pottery with early glazes and ivories, *M.* 69, is of value as dating the throwing away of the objects in that chamber. 37 is of the type of Perabsen (*Abydos I*, vii, 31) or perhaps a little later. 39 is of the latter part of the Ist Dynasty. 41 is most like the form under Perabsen. 38 and 40 are certainly after the Ist Dynasty. The date of the chamber filling is dealt with in sect. 35.

60. *Pottery of IInd—Vth Dynasty.* Pl. xliii. The forms here lead on from those of the Ist Dynasty to the well-known IVth Dynasty types. The open bowls should be compared with those in *Medum* xxx, 9, 10; but the thin splay lip of the early bowls seems to have been avoided after the IInd Dynasty, being very liable to break, and the stronger form with recurved brim of some shape was nearly always used. The spouted bowl which is usual in the Old Kingdom (*Medum* xxxi, 21) begins here in the IInd Dynasty, No. 72. The large pan, 75, is unique; it seems to have been copied from rush-work, and has a cross-line border of red paint on a light ground. The position of it is marked at the west edge of pl. lii as "ribbed jar"; it is probably of the IIIrd or IVth Dynasty. The form 77 here passed on to that in *Medum* xxxi, 28, and *Dendereh* xvi, 32. 78 and 79 belong to early types. The rough finger-marked jars 80—83 begin at the latter part of the Ist Dynasty, become more regularly striated in the IIIrd Dynasty, then degrade to rough fingering in the late IIIrd (*Medum* xxxi, 15) and become nearly cylindrical in the Vth Dynasty (*Deshasheh* xxxiii, 22), and quite so in the VIth Dynasty (*Dendereh* xvi, 8).

Pl. xliv. The narrow-necked vases 88—92 do not begin till the IInd Dynasty, and continue to the IVth and Vth, *Dendereh* xvi, 25—27, *Deshasheh* xxxiii, 15. The offering vases which we know in the Ist Dynasty (*R. T.* i, xliii, 110) are never found in the town, but belong entirely to the temple, about the IVth Dynasty, Nos. 93—95; they continued to the VIth at Dendereh (xvi, 5, 7). 96 is a form of the IInd Dynasty (*Abydos I*, xxxiv, 135) which lasted on to the Vth (*Desh.* xxxiii, 20) and the VIth Dynasty (*Dend.* xvi, 19). 97 is a peculiar form, in thin highly polished red ware; several very long flakes of flint were found inside it. 98 is of the same appearance. The lid of an incense burner, 100, may be compared with that of the VIth Dynasty (*Dend.* xvi, 6). The head-rest 101 is unknown hitherto in pottery of this form. The simple stands 102 to 106, 110 to 112 have a long history; the graceful trumpet forms 105, 106 are known in the IIIrd Dynasty (*Dend.* xvi, 1). The compound forms of stand and dish in one piece are known from before the Ist Dynasty *Abydos I*, xxxv, 195—197); but they developed a higher stand, and a form more nearly copied from a vase in No. 109. It is possible, indeed, that the latter form may have been intended to be used either end upward. Nos. 111, 112 are of thick pottery, with bright red polished facing.

61. Pl. xlv. The forms 113—115 were found in the foundation deposits of Pepy; and 116—119 stood in the corner of the temple of that age. Of the other forms 123 is new to us at this period, a survival of the big jars of the earliest town (*Abydos I*, xxx, 69); 121 and 122 are also not known so small (see *Dend.* xvi, 13); 125 is a IVth Dynasty form (*Medum* xxx, 5), and 126, 127 are like *Dend.* xvi, 24, 26, 27.

In the next group of the VIth—Xth Dynasty, we see the early types of bowl 129 surviving, and the conical rough vessels 132, 133 like *Medum* xxxi, 28. The hand-made tall pots 137—8, which are so well known earlier, seem to have also dwindled to the small forms 135, 136, as in *Dend.* xvii, 86. Pl. xlvi. The other types of this age are mostly found in the same period at *Dendereh* (pl. xvii). But some are much finer

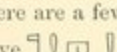
in form and handling, as 149, 152, 153, 154; and those resemble many in the west group called XIth Dynasty, such as 177—184. The whole of this group was found together in the deposit marked X, on pl. liv, which seems from its arrangement and position (see sect. 22) to have been a series of pits for offerings in the west wing of the old Pepy temple. So these may easily belong to different times over a century or two, but ending with Mentuhotep III. Probably the finer forms belong to the last age of these deposits.

The types of Usertesen I from his foundation deposit differ from anything known in the XIIth Dynasty at Denderch, and also from the deposit of Usertesen II (*Kahun*, xiv), or other groups of the XIIth Dynasty.

CHAPTER V.

THE INSCRIPTIONS.

By F. Ll. Griffith, F.S.A.

62. Pl. xvi. In this new collection of puzzles there are a few details clear. In 8 we probably have  "the servant of the god, Heb": in 9 a female title  common in the IIIrd Dynasty and the early part of the IVth, together with a name that may be Hez-hotep. In 15 there is the name , Nefermaat, which is well known as belonging to an important member of the family and court of King Senefru, buried at Mêdâm. On 18 King Menkaura is described as "beloved of Hathor," and his *ka*-name is given as "arm of the bull of Ra (?)": 20 shows the Horus name of Userkaf, and 21 the cartouche of Sahura with the Horus name : 22 has fragments of the same names.

63. The most interesting of the inscriptions found this year at Abydos are those upon the three plates xvii-xix. These decrees of kings of the Old Kingdom are of a class of writings hitherto unrepresented on the monuments. We can however compare them on the one hand with the charges in private tombs of the Old Kingdom, respecting the *ka*-servants and the property of the endowment, and on the other with the royal order of the boy-king Neferkara to his officer Herkhuf, when the latter was returning from a long voyage laden with the rarities collected for the royal gratification.

The first two decrees are alike in general arrangement. No doubt they were originally engrossed on papyrus in a kind of hieratic character; very probably the arrangement on the papyrus was closely followed in the inscription. At the right hand edge we see a column containing only the Horus name of the king, the symbol of his presence and approval; this may correspond to the royal seal, but was probably also written inside the papyrus. At the top of the decree itself is a heading divided into two portions: "Command of the king" faces in one direction, and the name and title of the person to whom it is addressed in the other direction. To judge by the analogy of the correspondence found by Prof. Petrie at Kahun this is the endorsement of the papyrus, but the same may also have appeared upon the face. At the foot of the decree is another line, also divided into two:—"in presence of (?) the king himself," the second part declaring that it was "sealed (?)" on a certain date, apparently without naming the year.

Pl. xvii. "Horus who pacifies the two lands," the Horus name of Teta.

"Command of the king (unto)."

(The first and last lines of the decree itself seem to give no connected sense.)

". . . . to reckon cattle and all products therein [this] land (?) is preserved unto Khent[amentiu?] (i.e. Khenta-menthes, Osiris of Abydos) by command of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Teta who liveth for ever to eternity, [whereas] he commanded [it?] unto the *erpa-ha*, the royal chancellor, governor of the South Nekau-Assa"

"[In presence of the king himself]: sealed (?) the third month of inundation (?), day 2 (?)."

Pl. xviii. "Horus, rich in manifestations." This *ka*-name is that of Neferarkara (the third king of the Vth Dynasty) on the Palermo stone. The cartouche in the body of the decree () may perhaps be the prenomen of the same king. It is very unfortunate that the middle sign in the cartouche is imperfect. Another Horus name, Nefer-khau  (the reading not quite certain), of this period, and very similar to the one now under consideration, was noted by Mr. Fraser[1] from a tomb at El Bersheh. Mr. N. de G. Davies made a copy of the extremely fragmentary inscription to which it is attached and has shown me that it is precisely of the form of the decrees on pl. xvii, xviii; it must have recorded an honorific "command" from the king to the owner of the tomb. The present decree seems to be for the relief of the priests from labour to which the rest of the people might be subjected.

"Command of the king: (unto) the superintendent of the servants of the god, Hen-ur." The title is that of the head of the local temple administration, always a very important personage in a religious centre of even less repute than Abydos: in fact the nomarch himself generally combined the religious primacy with his civil princedom.

In the decree itself some of the writing is in irregular columns, which apparently have to be inserted amongst the horizontal lines; but there is much obscurity in parts of the inscription.

"I have not empowered any man to take any servants of the god who are in the nome (?) in which for canal-work (?) or for any work of the nome, beyond performing () the service of the god in which the temple is, and making the temples to prosper in which they are, conveying the products of any work, taking any serfs that for canal-work (?), and any work of the nome on any land on which work is done by any servants of the god. They are protected to the extent of eternity by command of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt . . . *kara* in every task (?).

"Verily every man of the nome who shall take any servants of the god who are in the lands (?) of the god or serfs of the lands of the god, for canal-work or any work of the nome

"Any magnate or royal acquaintance or inspector of embankments (?) who shall do according to (?) these things"

"In presence of () the king himself; sealed (?)"

64. Pl. xix. The architrave inscription is of Pepy II. The decree is probably of the same king. The record of sealing and date are here placed at the right hand end; the heading and royal *ka*-name are lost, but perhaps were written in the upper part of the same column. What remains seems to relate chiefly to the endowments of certain statues in the temple of Khentamenthes. The statement is in tabular form, and so far as we can learn from the fragments, a share in an ox and a portion of milk is to be given from (?) each festival to the corporation of the temple and to each of the statues. Perhaps the "eighth of an ox" and "the one measure of milk" which occur in the fragments were repeated in each case.

". . . . of every festival therein, unto (1) the larder (?) of the superintendent of divine servants, and the divine servants of this temple, (2) the statue of Neferkara, (3) the statue of Pepyankhnes royal mother of Neferkara of the pyramid Menankh, (4) the statue of Pepyankhnes royal mother of Merenra of the pyramid Khanefer, (5) the statue of the chief judge and wazir Zau: which statues (possibly this refers only to the first three) are in the temple of Khentamenthes.

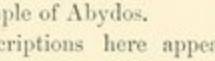
[1] *El Bersheh* ii, p. 57.

The divine servants of their several endowment-estates are discharged from this duty (?), they are protected I have not granted that the royal larder (?) receive these things (?) to the extent of eternity."

"Sealed (?) in presence of the king himself: fourth month of harvest (Mesore), day 8."

The fractions of cattle and jars of milk must refer to portions of the offerings and sacrifices at the festivals.

Merenra and Neferkara were brothers who reigned in succession, sons of Pepy I. (Meryra) by two sisters of the noble Zau. Both these sisters seem to have had or to have taken the name of Pepy-ankhnes or its variant Meryra-ankhnes.[1] All these kings and great personages may have contributed to the grandeur or the possessions of the temple of Abydos.

Pl. xx. The inscriptions here appear to belong to Pepy I.  may be the name on the injured table of offerings which, as Mr. Petrie suggests, may well have been dedicated after the king's death.

65. Pl. xxiv-v. Fragments from a temple of Mentuhotep III, the inscriptions relating chiefly to offerings. On one we have "thousands of all" provisions "to the statue of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Neb-kherura": on another "King Mentuhotep has made this as his monument": on another "in the temple of Khentamenthes to make unto him divine offerings to the extent of eternity": on another various gods, including Upuaut (Ophois), Horus, Khnum, Thoth, and Anhert (Onouris) say, "[I give unto thee all life and strength and] joy of heart, thou livest as king in the Great Place, O King Nebkherura, living for ever!"

Fragments from a temple of Sankhkara. On one of them the king is "beloved of Upuaut."

Pl. xxvi. The inscriptions of Usertesen I. can be restored according to the well-known formula and must have stated that the door was "made by him as his monument to his father Osiris Onnophris (or Osiris Khentamenthes)."

The statuette is inscribed with a prayer to Osiris Khentamenthes the great god, lord of Abydos, for offerings "to the *ka* of the governor of the royal city and wazir Ameny, begotten of the Senb and born of the lady"

Pl. xxvii. Amongst the quarry marks on the building stones, No. 9 gives the name of Abydos, No. 10 "year 46, Abydos," Nos. 7 and 8 "year 50 Abydos." These must almost certainly be from the long reign of Thothmes III. No. 12 is perhaps upside down, and if so begins with the sign  "scribe" or "written," but the inscription is highly cursive and very obscure.

Pl. xxviii. The inscriptions of Usertesen III record nothing of interest. In those of Sebekhotep III we read "King Sebekhotep hath made his monument to his father Khentamenthes (var. Osiris Onnophris), the making for him a temple of stone that Osiris may give him his protection daily."

Pl. xxix. The altar is inscribed with a prayer for offerings addressed to Osiris for the *sab* and *ari-nekhen* Ankhu born of Hent-pu. The stele has a similar formula to Osiris lord of Ankh-taui (at Memphis ?) and Ophois lord of Abydos for the "*ha* and divine sealer, Senbetfi, begotten of the *ha* and divine sealer Hor, born of the lady Neferu." It seems odd that the connection of Osiris with Abydos is not referred to in the inscription.

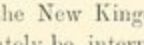
The figure of Ameny has a formula addressed to Osiris Khentamenthes, the great god lord of Abydos, for the "chancellor, chief steward Ameny (?), begotten of Taenhaau, born of the lady Kemtet." The name of the father means "Bread of the poor."

Pl. xxx, 1. Prayer for the "official of a department, Sa-Hathor, born of Menkhet," and for his wife (?) "Mema, born of Metu-ankh."

[1] Herr Borchardt in *Deir el Gebrawi* i., pp. 29-30.

2. The chief scribe, Neferhotep, begotten of born of the lady Senbet, says: "Hail to thee, thou eldest son of Geb, mighty god coming forth king in Ta-ur, Khentamenthes Lord of Abydos" An early example of a hymn to Osiris.

3-5. Fragments of steles with many names and titles.

Pl. xxxi. This plate contains an inscription of a king whose *nomen* at least was hitherto unknown. Sekhem-khu-taui-Ra is probably the reading of the prenomen, and son of the Sun Pen(?)then that of the nomen. Below the royal names are inscriptions, "Favour granted by the king and Osiris to the *ka* of the king's son Tehutiaa," and "to the *ka* of the king's daughter (?) Neferu." Penthen in the later part of the New Kingdom would readily and appropriately be interpreted as "He of This," "the Thinite": but the spelling  for  "he of" seems scarcely possible so early as the end of the Middle Kingdom, to which period this inscription probably belongs.

66. Pl. xxxiv. From the fragments on this plate we learn that Thothmes made considerable gifts to the temple of Osiris. The inscription seems to have consisted of:—

(1) An introductory text setting forth the occasion of the gift, written in horizontal lines. Part of this remains on the fragments in the lower part of the plate: portions of three lines being on the right hand larger fragment, and of two lines on the middle fragment. The former should be moved one line down, so that  comes opposite to . The large fragment on the left was probably separated from these by a long gap, but another small fragment joins its right hand edge, giving . Connecting these pieces together we may read:—

". . . the sea (?)] that encompasses the Hanebu. Behold the heart of his majesty found satisfaction in doing [pious actions to his father Osiris: he gave abundant provision] as daily supplies, beyond what had been formerly: his majesty offered unto him with vessels and collars (?) and every valuable stone, services of wine-vessels [of gold, silver] and bronze, ... this was done for him by his son who loves him, Thothmes."

(2) The introductory inscription was followed by three lines of tabulated offerings. Part of the heading remains in two horizontal lines on the right hand fragment. A small fragment should perhaps be attached to the left hand piece giving  as Mr. Petrie points out, is that it brings a high number, 120 amongst the low numbers, 1, 2 at this end.

(Heading) "Daily [provision] offered [by? king Menkheperra?] son of the Sun Thothmes, to" In the table we see various numbers—82, 60, 200, 700—of loaves called *bat* of many sizes—13, 41, 60, 100, 146, to the half bushel (quadruple *heqt*) of flour; also hay or vegetables, dates (1 bunch), milk (2 vessels).

(3) Below this table is a single line of heading probably of the full width of the inscription, followed by a very extensive tabulation to which the large fragment on the plate doubtless belongs. This fragment also seems to show the lower edge of the whole inscription. The enumeration is in horizontal lines divided at intervals by vertical lines.

(Heading) ". [offered] for the benefit (?) of King Thothmes, anew unto his father Osiris" The list of offerings is excessively fragmentary: it included boxes of different kinds of wood, objects in alabaster (?), iron (?), silver and bronze. Towards the end of the list we read, "my majesty gave unto him 50 aruras of *khent*-land and 400 of higher land. Also my majesty gave unto him serfs anew to make fine linen and white cloth"

Pl. xxxvi.

"Favour granted by the king, and Osiris Onnophris, the great god in Abydos; the king's scribe, steward of Memphis, superintendent of the treasuries of silver and gold, Amenhotep. He says: 'I have come unto thee, O lord of U-Pek, my prayers are unto thy *ka* each day: I give thee glory, I exalt thee and glorify the beauties of thy face. Let there be given unto me offerings of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, cloth and thread, incense and ointment, water, wine and milk. May I be anointed with the best unguent and oil that has been cast off from the forehead of the god: may I receive fillets in the feast of Uag, of green and red cloth. May I enter the Neshem-boat (the sacred boat of Osiris) as a perfect spirit, may I not be parted from the servants of Horus. I am one (who loveth) truth, detesting evil, without crime:' for the *ka* of the *sab*, on the right hand (?), who possesseth a burial and hath reached reward, the chief steward of the king, one praised who came forth from the body of one praised, excellent satisfier of the heart of his lord, the king's scribe, steward of Memphis, Amenhotep."

The inscription is probably of the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

67. Pl. xxxvii. On the support of the head of a statue.

At the back:  (?) "the chief priest of Ta-ur (the reliquary of Osiris) the divine chancellor in great dealings (?), the ceremonial attendant, the master of ceremonial in the divine servant of Osiris, Nebenmaat He says, 'I was divine servant of Abydos, I secured gold for my master (?) I established the god upon his sacred stand and I raised that up upon the scaffolding of the barge (?).'"

On one side: "the divine servant Nebenmaat: he says, 'I was the chief priest of Ta-ur, *kher-heb* of the god who is therein.'" On the other side: "He says, '. . . . doing what is pious and pleasing: I washed my god, I purified'"

Below are the inscriptions upon a squatting figure of (Pa-)Ra-hotep, *wazir* under Rameses II and evidently a Memphite worshipper of Ptah. Between his arms is a shrine-shaped tablet worn as a pectoral, with the cartouche of his king and the figure of his god.

On one arm is, "the royal chancellor, the divine father Ra-hotep"; on the other seem to be titles (?) in enigmatic writing, together with his name; at the feet, "My lord appointed me *wazir* as fosterer (?) of the temple of Ptah: I became (?) overseer of the whole country, judging the land for the king."

On the front, from the knees downwards, is a longer inscription, the central column being in a kind of enigmatic writing.

"The chief of secrets of the great place, priest (?) of Ptah in the chancellor Ra-hetep, he says, 'O my lord, protect me for my excellence, grant safety to my soul, make my body to prosper, its flesh to be good, and my bones to be safe unto the future, because For I am thy servant, loving thee in truth'—the *wazir* Parahotep, who is as a god. He says, 'Let me become as those in thy train, who see thy forms: exalt me amongst the spirits, make me divine amongst the souls. Let me be summoned to thy presence daily, and not be destroyed from out the land'—the *erpa ha*, chancellor, confidential friend of the king, the *wazir* Parahotep."

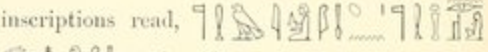
Pl. xxxviii. Unnefer, the high priest of Osiris at Abydos in the reign of Rameses II, has left many records. Of the fragments in this plate, the small one in the middle should be joined to the larger one below, so that the signs  are continuous, and the larger fragment above should be placed below them, so that  are joined. The inscription was a hymn or prayer addressed by

Unnefer to Osiris; it ends "'make Rameses thy son to live, establish thou his enthronement upon the great seat, advance him (?) in the royalty of the two lands that he may live for ever,' (pronounced) by the chief priest of Osiris, Unnefer."

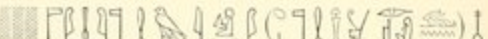
The second inscription is an address to deities, including Harakhti, Atum, Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, Hathor, all the gods of the sacred land, and the divine Ennead in Abydos, by Nezem, the royal scribe, steward of the temple of Rameses II in Karnak (?).

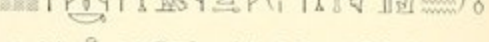
The last inscription is a prayer to "Osiris, ruler of eternity, Ptah-Sokaris, Lord of the coffin," for "thousands of every good and pure thing, thousands of every good and sweet thing, given by heaven, produced by earth, brought by the Nile, of its offerings; to breathe the air, smell the north wind, and drink water in the swirl of the stream; for the *ka* of the scribe of the steward of the southern city (Thebes), master of ceremonies in the festival of Amon, Auy."

[*Addenda* to *Abydos I.* It is best to state here a correction to the inscription in *Ab. I*, lx, 2, which was found just before leaving Abydos, and was not dry enough to clean completely when copied. In the third column read, , and in the fourth, .

The kneeling figure, pl. lxv, 8, said to be of Unnefer, is of Hora, his son. The inscriptions read,  at the side.

 by the feet.



. The back has the same inscription slightly varied. W. M. F. P.]

CHAPTER VI.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

68. In dealing with so many details it may be best to bring together a brief summary of the main results, especially for those who may not have time to consider the whole of the material.

It has been a surprise to find that Osiris is not more prominent in the early history of the temple. In order to compare the relative positions of the gods we may place them in the order in which they appear on the monuments of the temple site, with the number of instances during each period that their names have been published in *Abydos I* and this volume.

	I—III	IV—VI	VII—XI	XII	XIII—XIV	XVIII	XIX	XXVI
Upuaut	1	—	3	3	2	1	—	—
Khnumu	2?	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Anher	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—
Khentamenti	—	1	1	2	2	1	—	—
Horus	—	—	1	—	—	1	2	—
Tahuti	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Asar	—	—	1	—	3	—	4	—
Asar Khentamenti	—	—	—	2	4	—	3	2
Asar neb Abdu	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	—
Asar neb Daddu	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Asar neb Ankhtaui	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Asar Unnefer	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—
Hathor	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Ptah nefer her	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Uazyt	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Anpu	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Asar-neb-ta-zeser	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—

Though mere accident may lead to a name not having been preserved from an early date, yet accident cannot be supposed to entirely pervert the evidence drawn from the occurrence of names in a site. We see that Upuaut appears in the first period, is prominent through the Middle Kingdom, and then disappears. Whereas Osiris does not appear till the Middle Kingdom, and grows in importance to the end. Upuaut is the name on the only temple vase, and appears as the principal god in the XIth Dynasty; while even in the XIIth Dynasty the stele of Senbtefi names Osiris lord of Ankhtaui (Memphis), and Upuaut lord of Abydos, distinctly not recognizing Osiris as the god of Abydos. The earliest mention of Osiris is on an altar in a private tomb (*Abydos I*, lix, base); this does not belong to the temple or the official worship here in any way. The first mention of Osiris in the temple is as united to Khentamenti in the XIIth

Dynasty; and Osiris alone does not appear till the XIIIth Dynasty (pl. xxviii). The mention of Anher belongs to the capital Thinis (*Abydos I*, lvi), and does not relate to this temple.

The history of the worship of the place appears to have been then that Upuaut was the deity of the temple at first. In the VIth Dynasty Khentamenti appears (pl. xix) as owning the temple. In the XIth Dynasty Upuaut was still mainly venerated by Sankhkara (xxv). In the XIIth Dynasty the temple foundations are in honour of Khentamenti (xxiii). Asar Khentamenti then appears, perhaps like Asar Hapi, meaning Khentamenti who is in the world of Osiris, the future state (xxvi, xxix). And in the XIIth Dynasty is *Asar neb Daddu*, *Asar neb Ankhtaui*, and—for the first time in the XIIth or XIIIth Dynasty—*Asar neb Abdu* (altar pl. xxix). Asar Khentamenti continues, however, to be the main form until in the New Kingdom Osiris alone stands on an equal footing. This succession of Upuaut, Khentamenti, the Osirian Khentamenti, and lastly Osiris alone, gives too consistent a view to be merely the result of accident. If in other texts outside of the temple it should prove that Osiris is called lord of Abydos at an earlier date, it would then only apply to his lordship of the cemetery; the temple itself was that of Upuaut, and next of Khentamenti.

The change in the character of the temple under the IVth Dynasty is notable (see sect. 14). The great bed of vegetable ashes differs from anything seen before, and the offerings of clay in it are similarly unknown. This positive change is accompanied by the negative change that no great temple building here belongs to this age, although there were large buildings before and after this. The ash bed was only in a small cell; and at a later time another case of building was added around this. The date of this new form of worship must have been two stages before Pepy I in the VIth Dynasty, and two stages after the temple of the Ist Dynasty. It must be therefore probably referred to the IIIrd or IVth Dynasty. And we have the tradition of a religious revolution at the rise of the IVth Dynasty, when Herodotus states that Khufu closed the temples and abolished the sacrifices. This tradition exactly meets the conditions that we find: there is no temple, and clay votive offerings are thrown into a fire, a cheap substitute for the real offerings of animals and vegetables, on which the priesthood lived. This disestablishment and confiscation of endowments has been a familiar course in history whenever a strong ruler has to organize a new order of things; and it is quite in accord with the dominant character of Khufu.

69. Several objects have placed the history of art and products in an entirely new light, and change some of the ideas hitherto accepted.

At the beginning of the Ist Dynasty we meet with the art of glazing fully developed, not only for large monochrome vessels, but for inlay in different colours, as in the vase of Mena (pl. iv). It was also used for relief work, and in the round (pl. i); and on a great scale for the coating of wall surfaces. Certainly no advance on new lines appears until the variety of coloured glass and glaze appeared in the XVIIIth Dynasty.

At the same early period arises the fine art in ivory carving, which is equal to anything done later, and in its absence of convention stands above all later Egyptian works. The statuette of the old king (pl. xiii), and some of the fragments on pls. ii, iii, show as good an understanding of form as at any later age.

In the Ist and IInd Dynasty the intercourse with Crete had brought in the polished black ware well known as the early product of that island, in the later neolithic age. The small cups were used in importing bright red paint, the larger jars probably for oil, &c. (xii, 267—9; xlii, 20—36).

This connection bears out the importation of

the earliest kind of painted island pottery at the same period.

The camel had hitherto been unknown in Egypt until late times. Now a camel head in pottery found with objects of the Ist Dynasty (x, 224) points to the animal having died out and been re-introduced; this is much like the history of the horse in Egypt, as lately suggested by Zippelin.

The statue of Khafra has long been one of the main treasures of early Egyptian portraiture, but his more celebrated predecessor, Khufu, was quite unknown to us by appearance. At last we have recovered a statuette, which, though so small, yet by its exquisitely minute work gives us a portrait that for power and character ranks with some of the best (xiii, xiv). We can at last realize the nature and energy of the most ruling character that Egypt ever produced.

The decrees of the kings of the Vth and VIth Dynasty (xvii, xviii) are the only examples of state documents of the Old Kingdom. The iron found with the copper tools of the VIth Dynasty carries back the knowledge of that metal for two or three thousand years, and shows that it was at least known as a rare metal in the Old Kingdom, though it did not become common till Greek times.

Though not in the present volume, we may mention also the discovery of the cliff temple prototype of Deir-el-Bahri, and the great stele of Queen Tetashera, the ancestress of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

The clearing of the ten successive temples of Abydos has given, for the first time, the continuous history of a site through all the dynasties. And it has afforded in several respects a new view of the beginning of the civilization.

APPENDIX.

THE SIZES OF BRICKS.

70. In uncovering walls of so many periods the comparison of the sizes of the bricks was often of use for identifying the connection between different walls. The time required for finding the dimensions of one set of these unbaked mud bricks was considerable. One or two joints might show, or even a wall might show its bricks all over, and yet dozens of sections of the soft mud earth might have to be sliced before two or three lengths and breadths could be certainly identified and fixed. It is not sufficient to measure several together in one length, as the joints vary in thickness; the brick itself must be clearly delimited from its mortar on each side. The breadths are usually about half of the length of the bricks; but this is by no means exact, and both dimensions need fixing separately.

For reference on the plans letters or numbers might be used. But as more than one alphabet would be used up, numbers were better. It seemed best then to use the medium breadth of the bricks as a reference number, as that gives an immediate notion of the size. These reference numbers are not exact averages, but merely serve to distinguish different sets of measurements and to refer between the plans and the following table.

The general conclusions from this table are that from Ist to Vth Dynasty there is nothing distinctive in the size, which varies from 4.4 to 6.4. The VIth—XIth Dynasties show larger sizes, from 5.2 to Pepy's 7.8. Then the XIIth Dynasty only used the greater of these sizes, 7.0 to 7.35. And the XVIIIth went outside of all these into 8.9 to 9.0 for the width. To whom belong the enormous bricks two feet long and a foot wide we cannot say. They lie on the N.W. in the sand bed beneath the wall of Tahutmes III, but do not appear in any built wall.

The references to the plans are given here by the "nominal" widths, and the numbers of the plans in which they are found appear beneath the nominal width. The breadths to which there are no references on the plans are the following:—

Inches.	
4.3	Foundation W. of S. end of outer gate wall, liii.
5.22	S. wall of W. square, lv.
5.6	Wall S. of ash shrine, lii.
5.72	Low houses under Kom-es-Sultan, xlix.
6.05	Corner tower N.W. of Kom-es-Sultan, xlix.
6.12	Base of E. outside wall, 265, xlix.
6.2	W. end of wall E. of Teta decree, lii.
6.45	Low corner N.W. of Kom-es-Sultan, xlix.
6.5	W. of K. in liii, and cross walls in big N.E. wall, 305-215, liii.
7.0	13.2, &c., Usertesen I deposit pit, lvi, and low corner N.W. of outside wall, xlix. (13 and 15 inch bricks mixed in both.) 13.8, &c., filling of a break in N.W. outside wall, xlix. 14.3 patched E. wall of outside, 245, xlix.

14.1 Usertesen W. wall, S. end 303-266, lvi.

7.1 W. side temple A. 202-189, li.

14.2 inner corner of N.E. thick wall, liii.

14.4 construction chamber in above, liii.

7.2 E. outside wall, xlix.

Kom-es-Sultan outside wall, xlix.

Usertesen wall S.W. and S., lvi.

7.35 Lower part inside Kom-es-Sultan, xlix.

13.8, &c., top 10 courses of Kom-es-Sultan, N.W., xlix.

7.8 E. and S. walls of Kom-es-Sultan, xlix.

8.7 Tahutmes III wall at N.W., lvii.

8.9 Tahutmes III retaining wall by deposit 116, lvii.

9.0 Tahutmes III wall on W., lvii.

12.1 N.W. sand bed under Tahutmes III wall, li.

The excess of the length over double the breadth (i.e. the allowance for one mortar joint) is, on an average, ·4 in each period before the XVIIIth Dynasty. The two different lengths of 13.5 and 15.2 inches (see 7.0) mixed together, probably were respectively for stretchers and headers, to allow of bonding across a wide middle joint in the wall.

DIMENSIONS OF BRICKS.

Nominal.	Dimensions, Inches.	Age.	Level.
4.3	11.5 × 4.3 .4 .0 10.7	V	226-216
4.4 l	8.9 × 4.4 9.0 9.2	I	158-114
4.6 l	9.4 × 4.5 × 2.1 .6″ .6 .3 .8 .7 .9 10.1	II	179-155
4.9 li	10.3‴ × 4.8 × 2.8 .9″ 3.0	II	231-193
5.2 li	10.4 11.0‴ × 5.0″ × 2.8 .2″ 3.0 .3 3.1 .5 .8	I	254-147
5.22	10.7 .8 11.0	XI	300-247
5.25 li	12.4 × 5.2 × 3.4 .5″ .3″ .9	VI	227-197
5.3 li	11.0? × 5.0 × 3.0 .3 .3 .5	I	203-179
5.4 li	11.4″ × 5.0 12.0 .3 .7 .4 .9 .6 .8 6.0	II	169-157
5.5 liii	11.0 × 5.4″ .3 .5 .9 .6 12.8	VI	284-232
5.6	12.4 × 5.6″ × 3.0 .8 .4 .6	III	222-200
5.75 li	11.5 × 5.7‴ × 3.4 12.0 × 5.8‴ .7 6.0	V	227-197
5.72	11.0 × 5.7 × 3.2″ .2 .8″ .5″ .9 6.2	VI?	
5.8 lv	11.2 × 5.3 × 3.0 .8‴ .4″ .0 .9 .5‴ .2 12.0″ .7‴‴ .4 .1 .8‴‴ .4 .2″ 6.1 .5 .3	XI	308-248
5.85 liii	11.6 × 5.6 × 3.0 .7 .7 .2 12.5 .9 .7 6.1	VI	281-228
5.9 liii	11.5 × 5.8 × 3.5 .7 6.0 .6	VI	259-226
6.00 li	12.0 × 5.6 × 2.6 6.8 .8 7.2	VI	228-198
6.02 liii	12.2 × 5.8 × 2.6 .3 .9 .6 6.1 3.0	VI	285-216
6.04 liii	12.3 × 5.7 .7 6.0 .2	VI	236-221
6.05	12.5″ × 5.9″ × 3.6 .8 6.1 .2	XVIII-	
6.06 li	12.6 × 6.0 × 3.2 13.0 .3	III	234-177

Nominal.	Dimensions, Inches.			Age.	Level.
6.08	12.8	×5.9	× 3.1	VI	237-217
liii	.9	6.0	.2″		
		.1	.6		
		.4			
6.10	12.0	×6.1	× 3.1	VI	280-232
liii	.2				
6.12	12.0	×6.2	× 3.4	XII?	-265
	.1	.2			
	.2	.4			
6.2	12.0	×6.2	× 2.8	V	244-200
6.3	12.5	×6.2		V	217-206
liii	13.0	.4			
6.4	12.7			VI	328-237
liii	.8				
	.9				
6.45	13.4″	×6.4‴	× 3.3″	XII?	
6.5	13.0‴	×6.2		VI	259-225
	.2				
6.55	12.5	×6.0″	× 3.2	III	254-175
li		.1	.5		
		.2	.6		
		.5″	.8		
		.8			
6.6	12.2	×6.6″	× 3.0	I	263-178
li	.3		.2		
	13.1				
7.0	13.2	×6.8‴	× 3.5	XII	
	.3″	.9‴	.9		
	.5	7.0‴	4.1″		
	.7‴	.1	.2″		
	.8	.6″	.3″		
	.9′				
	15.0				
	.2″				
	13.8‴	×6.6	× 4.7		
		.7	.8		
		.8″	5.0		
		7.0			
		.2			
	14.3	×6.4			
		.5			
		.6			
	14.1	×6.6	× 3.7	XII	
		.7	.8		
		.9″	.9″		

Nominal.	Dimensions, Inches.			Age.	Level.
7.1	14.0			I	202-189
	·3				
	14.2	×6.9	× 4.0		
		7.0	.2		
		7.3			
	14.4				
7.2	13.7	×7.1	× 4.1	XII	
	14.0	.2	.2‴		
	.1	.3‴	.3″		
	.2	.4″	.5		
	.3″″	.5	·8		
	.6	.7″	5.0		
		.8			
7.3	15.0	×7.3‴	× 3.8	VI	281-232
liii		.5			
7.35	14.3	×7.3	× 3.1	XII	
	.5″	.4			
	.8	.8			
	15.0				
	13.8	×7.5	× 4.5		
	14.0	.8	5.0‴		
	.8	.8			
7.6	14.8‴	×7.0	× 4.3	VI	280-238
liii	15.0	.3″	.6′		
		.6	5.0″		
		.7″			
		.8			
7.8	14.8	×6.6	× 4.2″	VI	257-237
liii	15.1	.7″	.4		
	.2	7.3	.5		
	.4	.5″	.8		
	.5″	.6‴	5.6		
	.7″″	.7″	.7		
	.8″	.8	.8		
	.9	.9	6.0		
		8.0			
		.1			
8.7	15.3	×8.6″	× 4.7	XVIII	
	.6	.8″	.8		
8.9	17.3			XVIII	
	.7				
	.8				
	18.0				
9.0		9.0″		XVIII	
12.1	23.6	×12.0	× 4.5	?	
	.8	.2			

The strokes after numbers show the number of instances.

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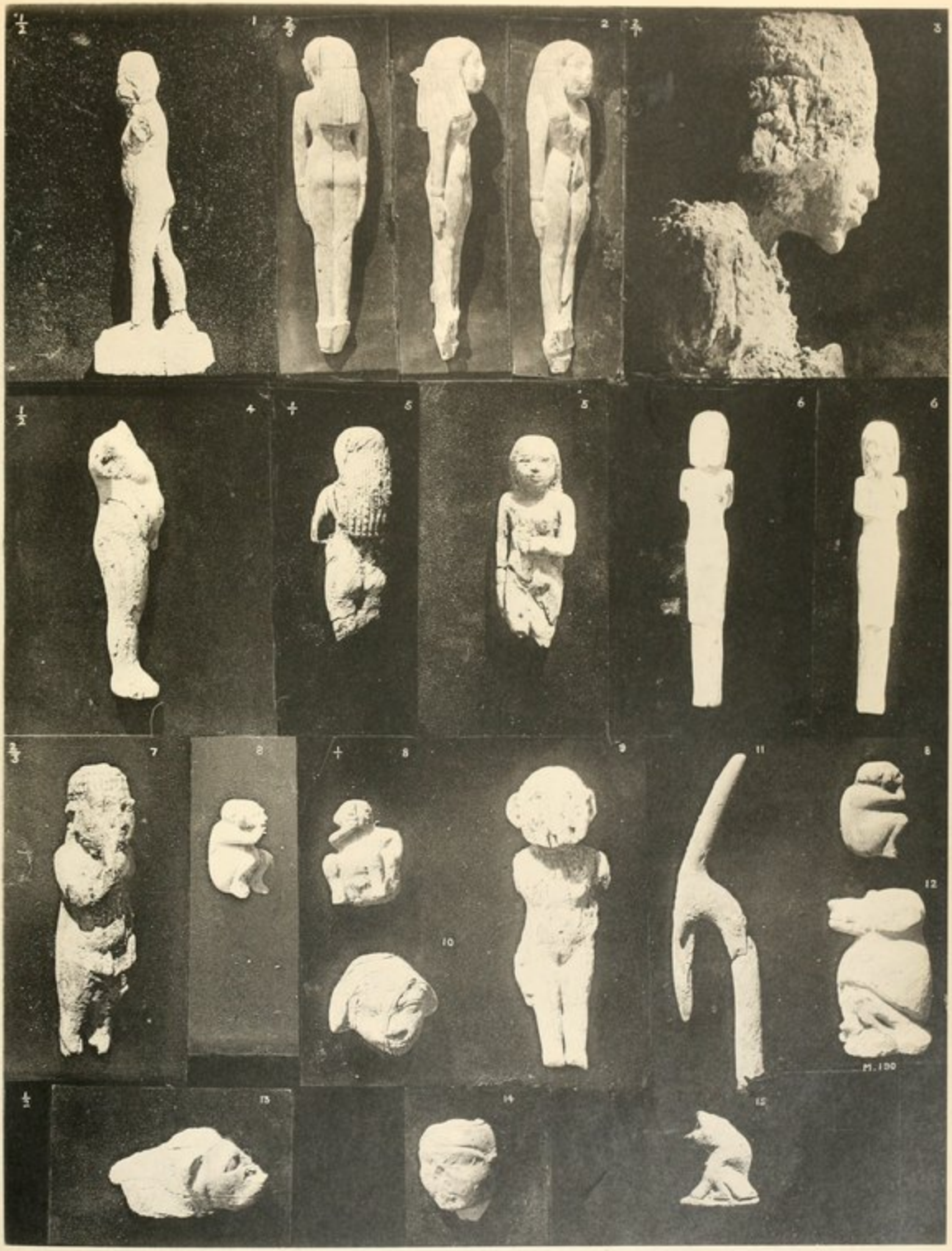
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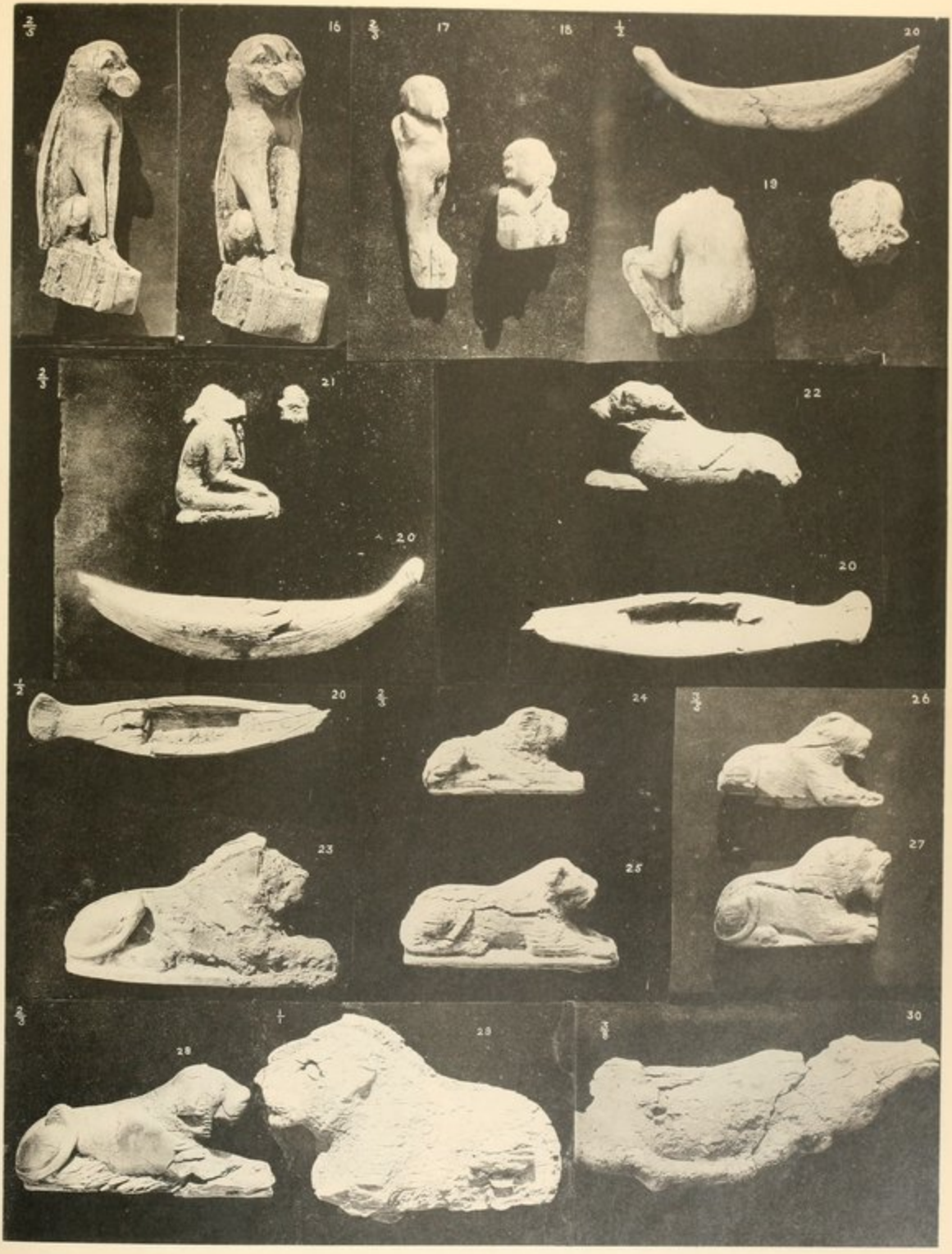
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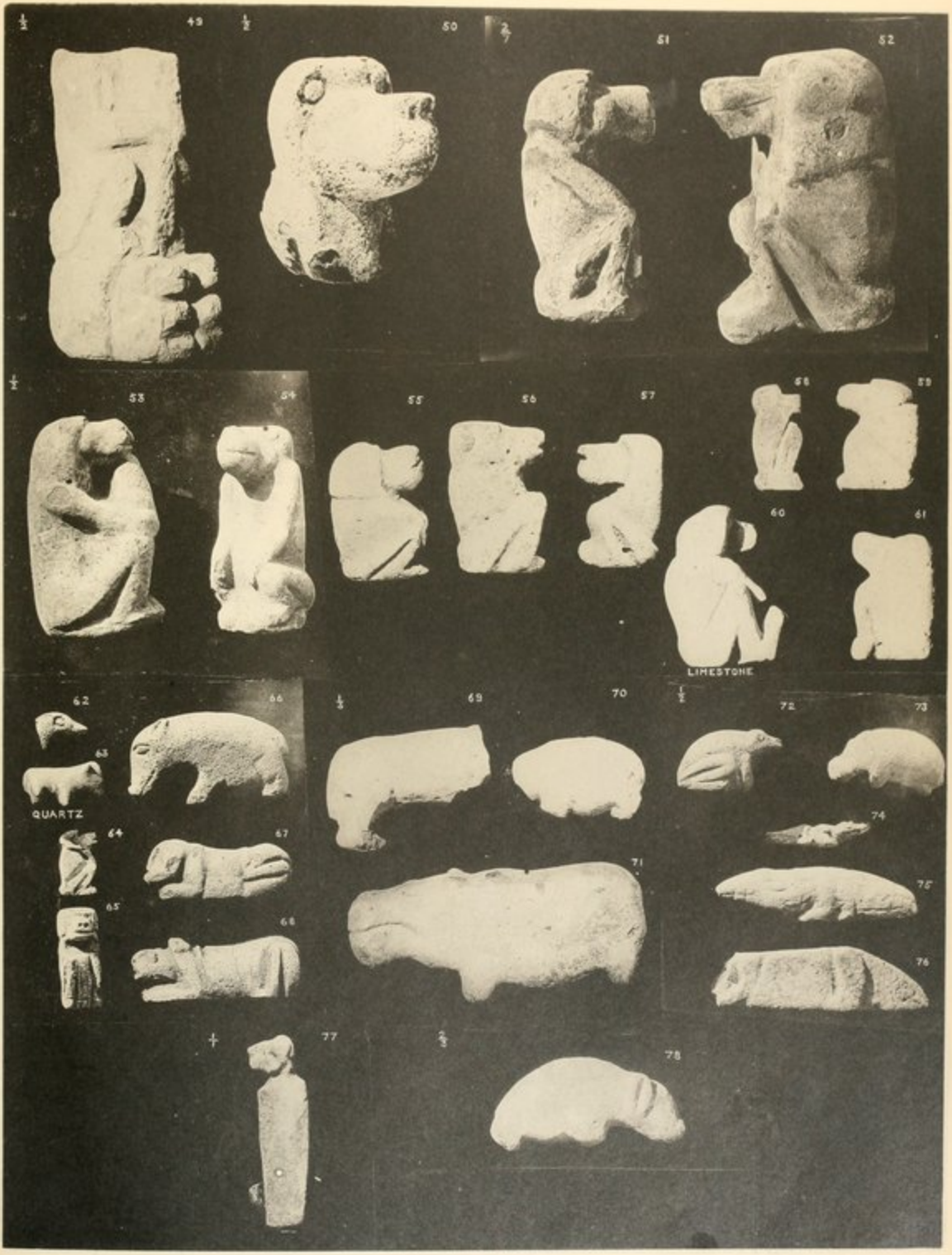


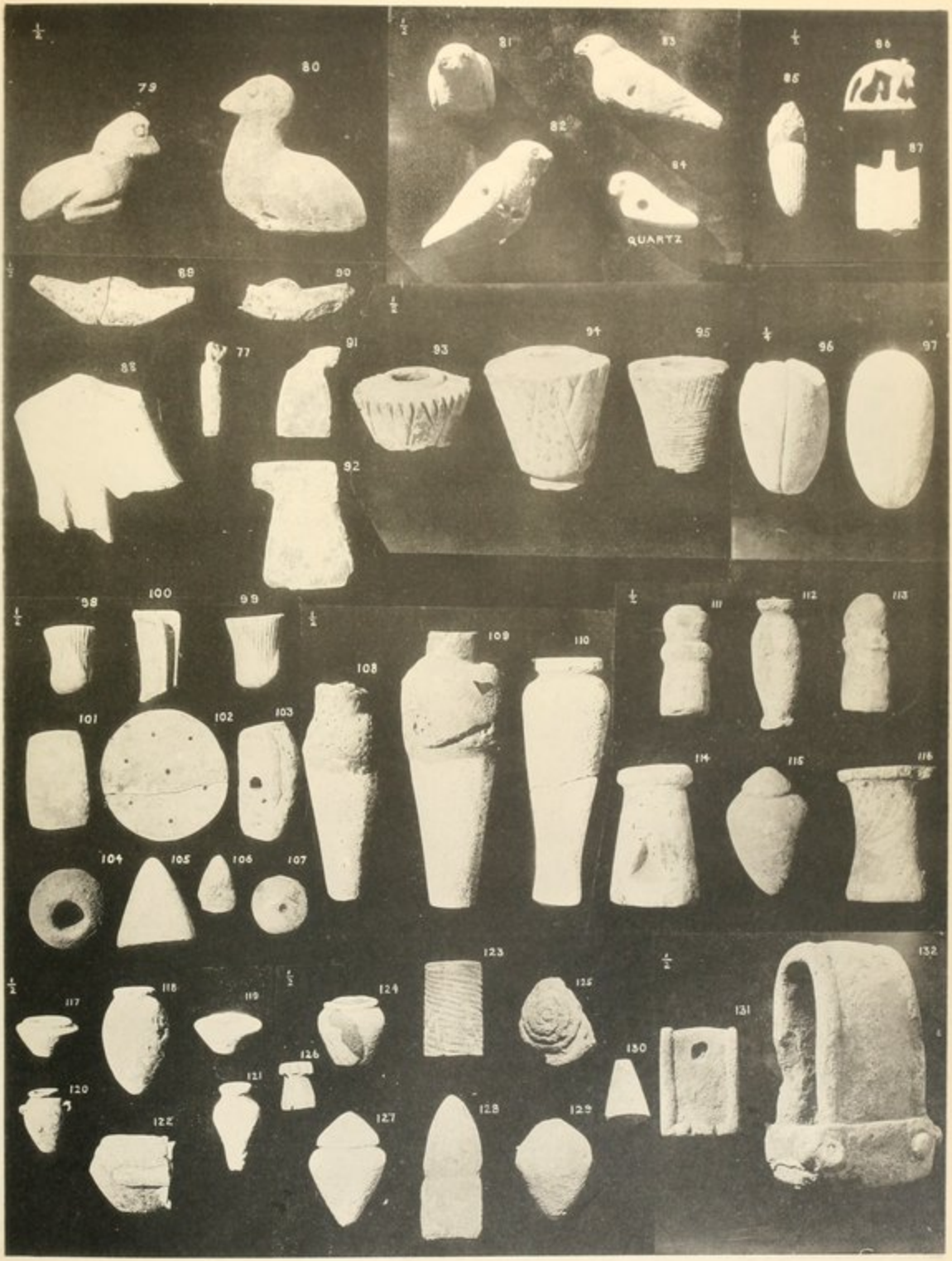


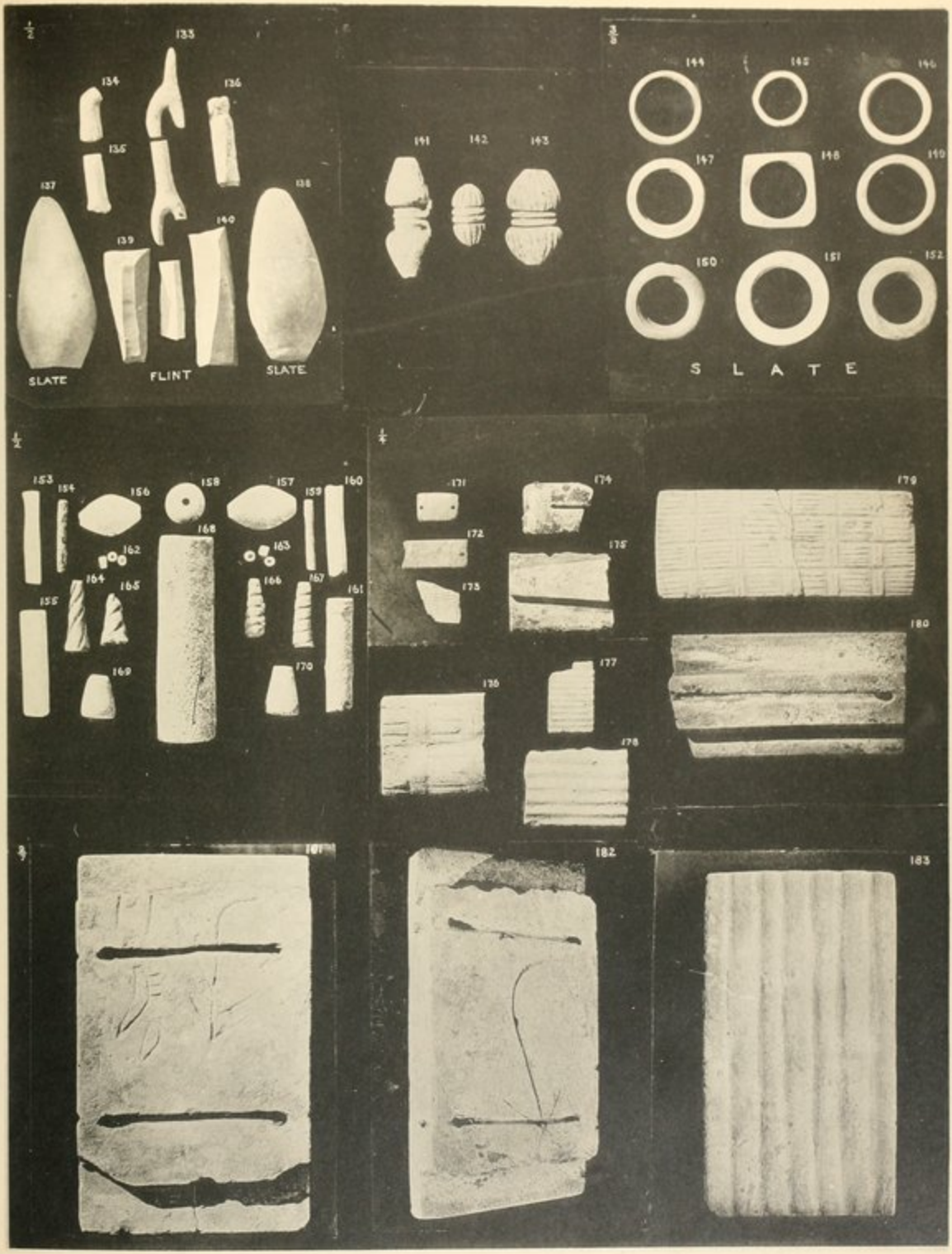


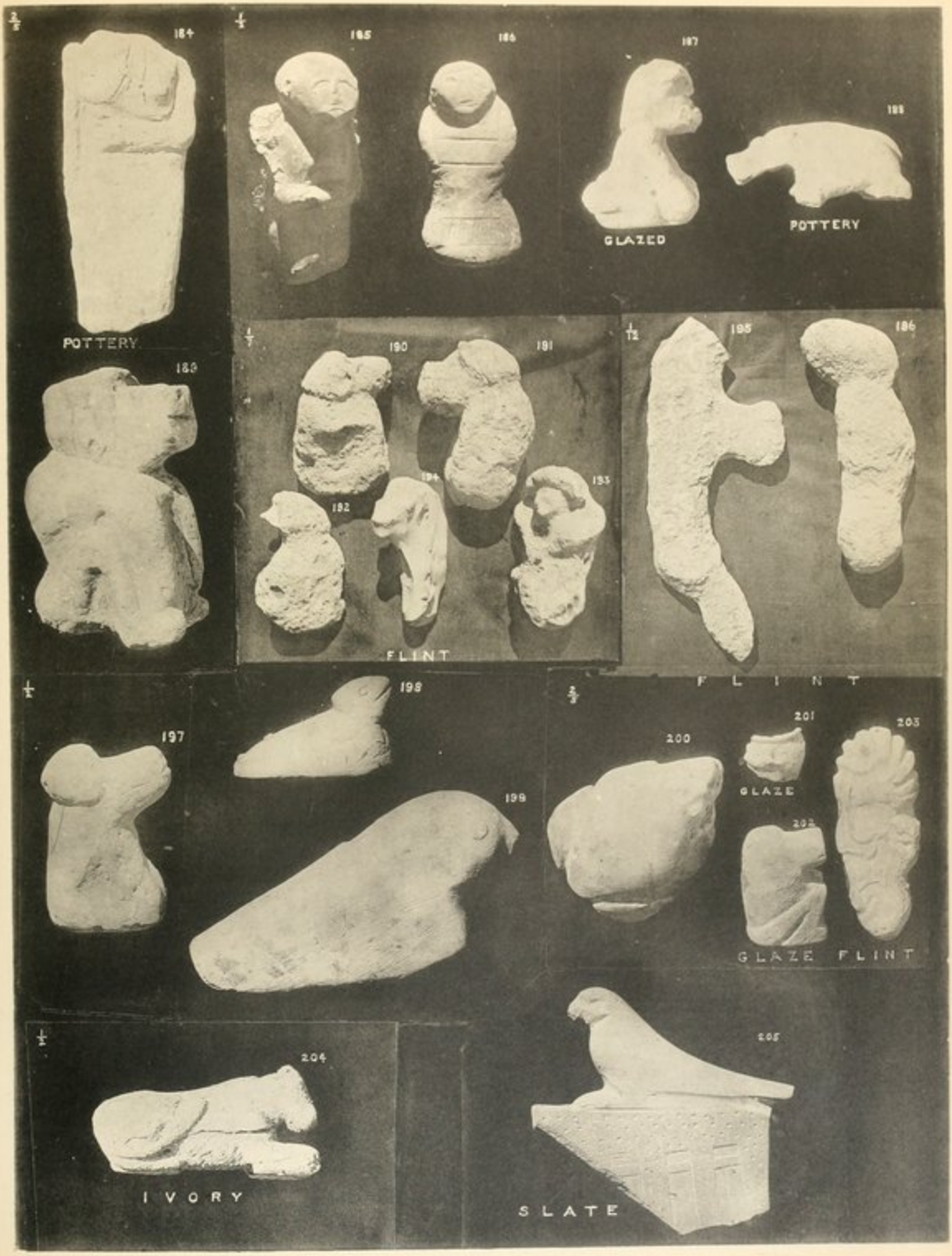
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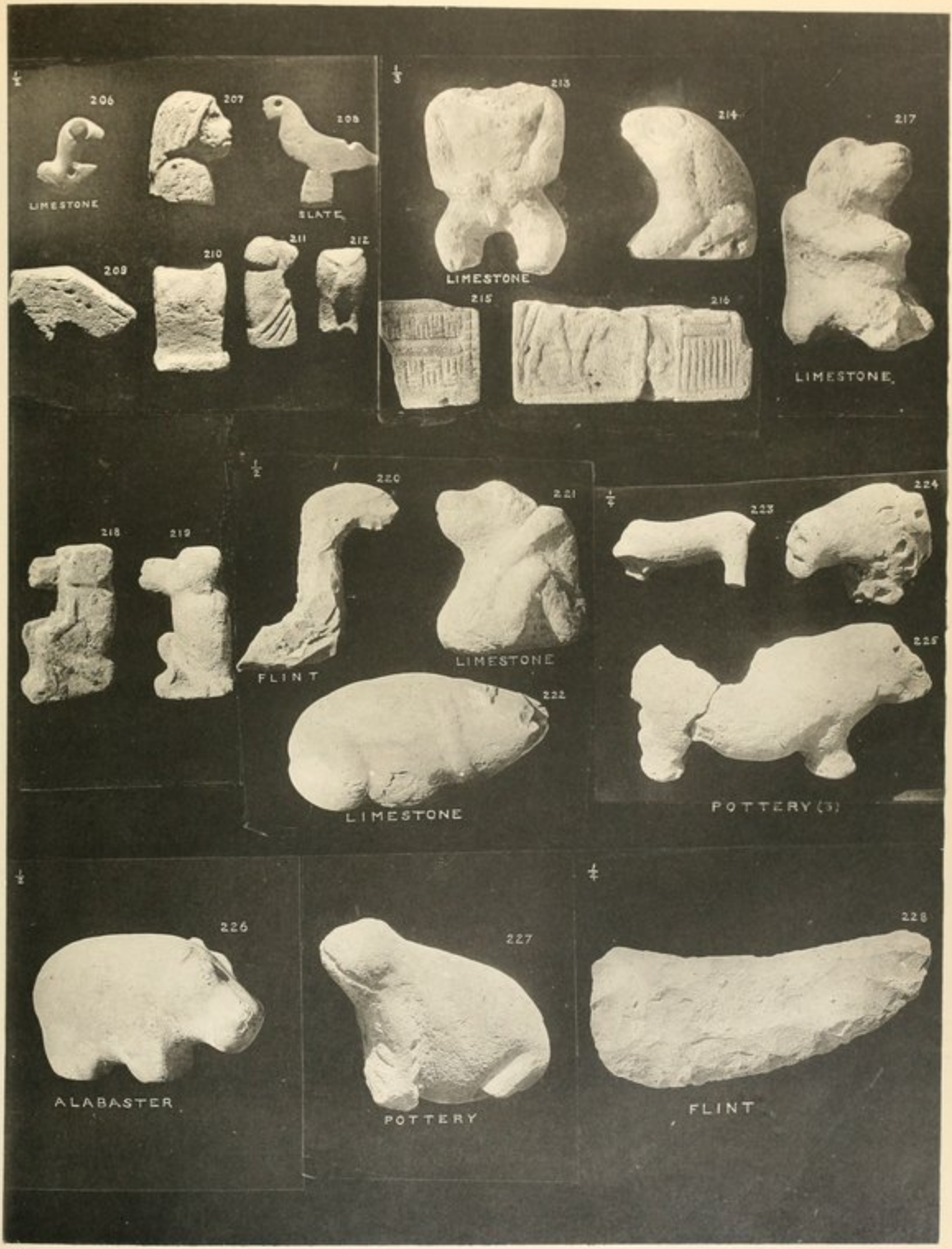

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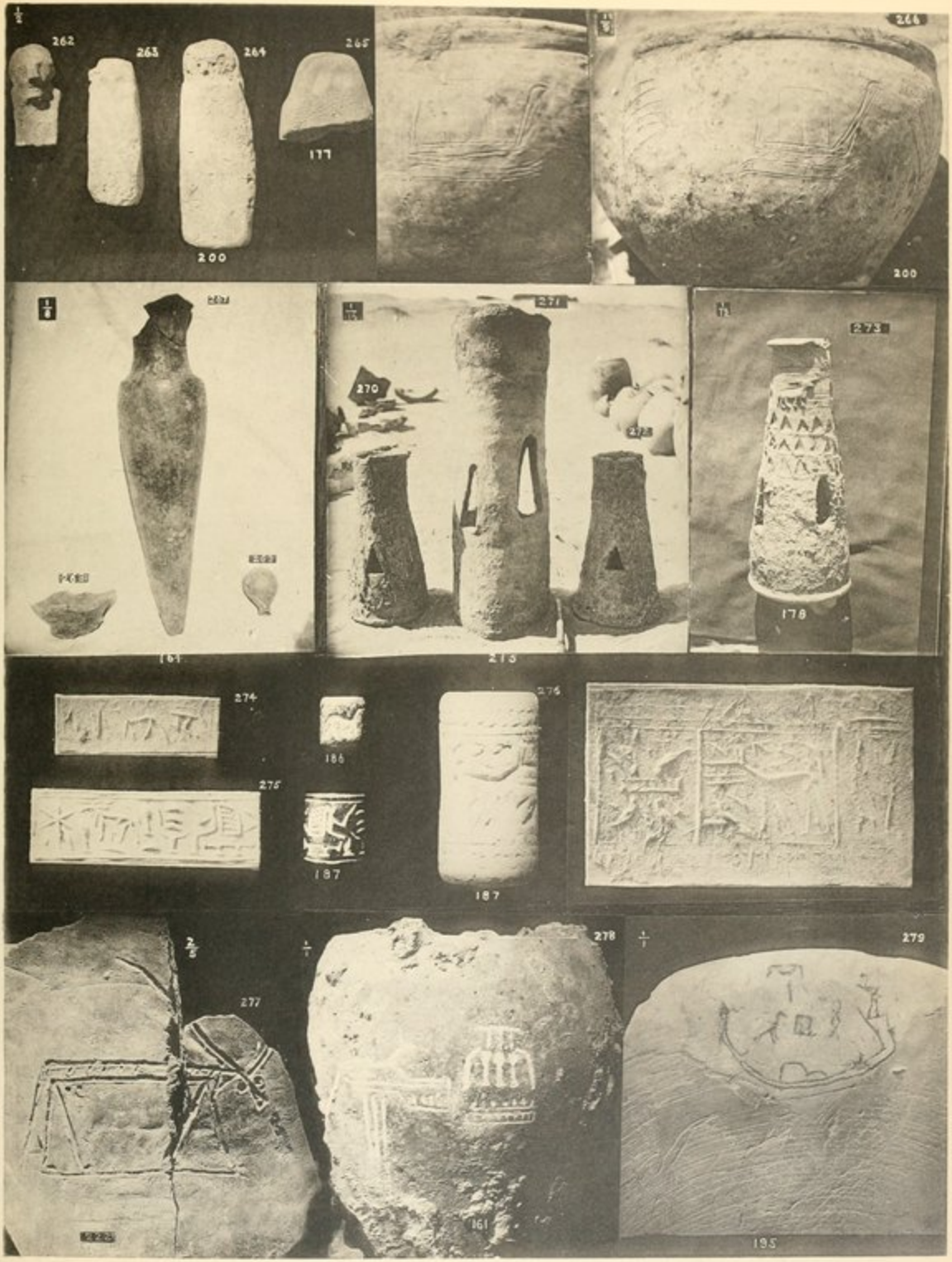

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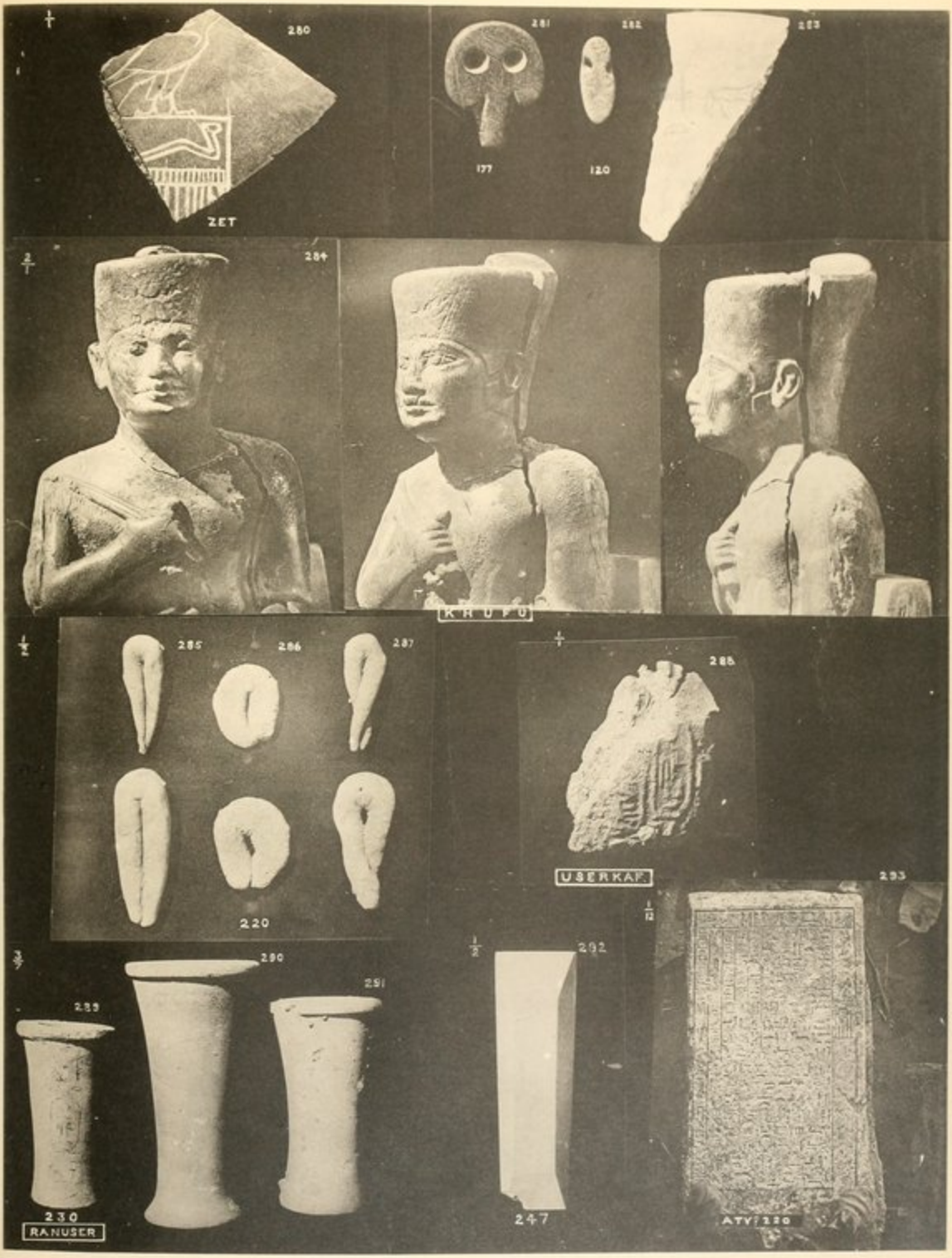

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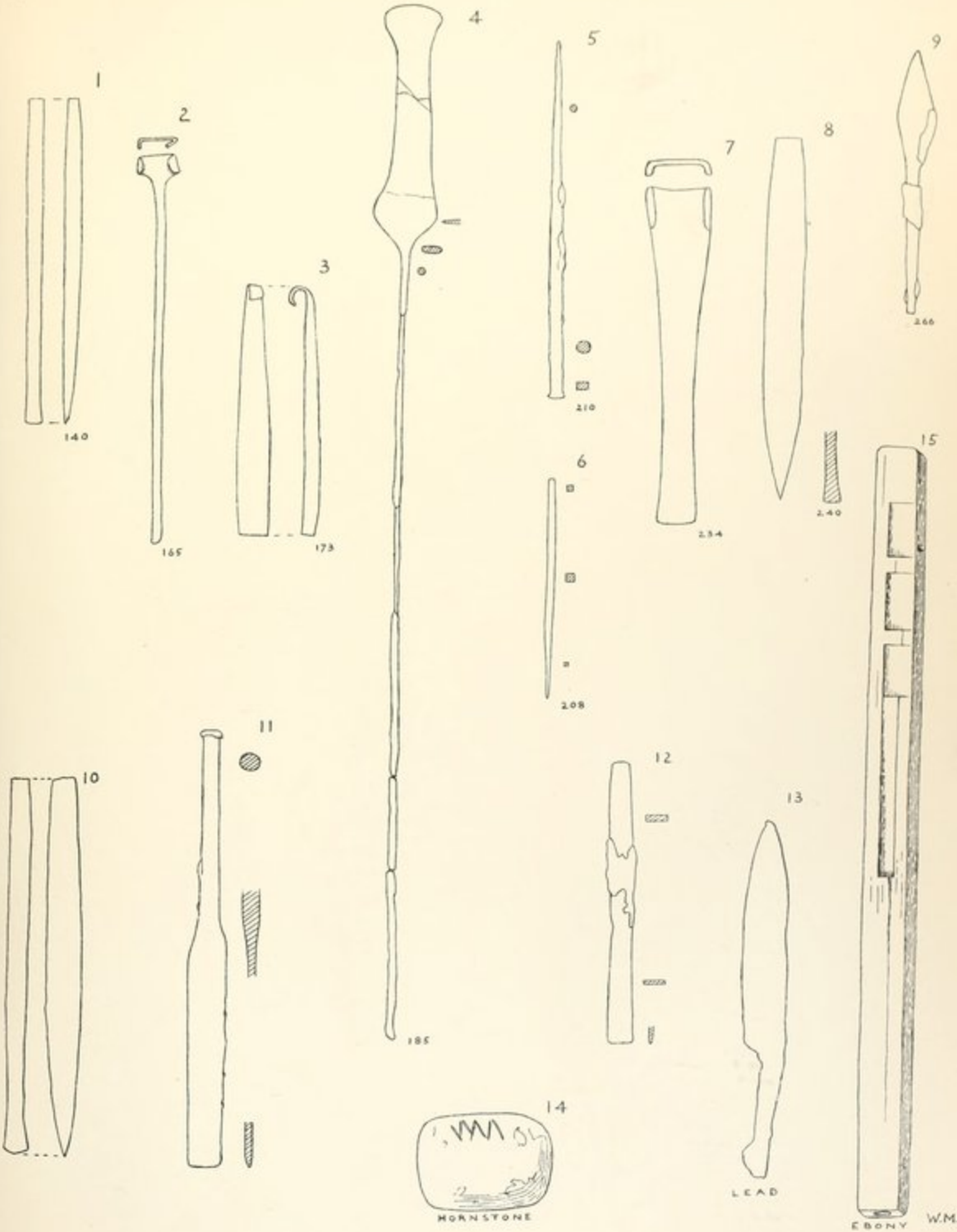


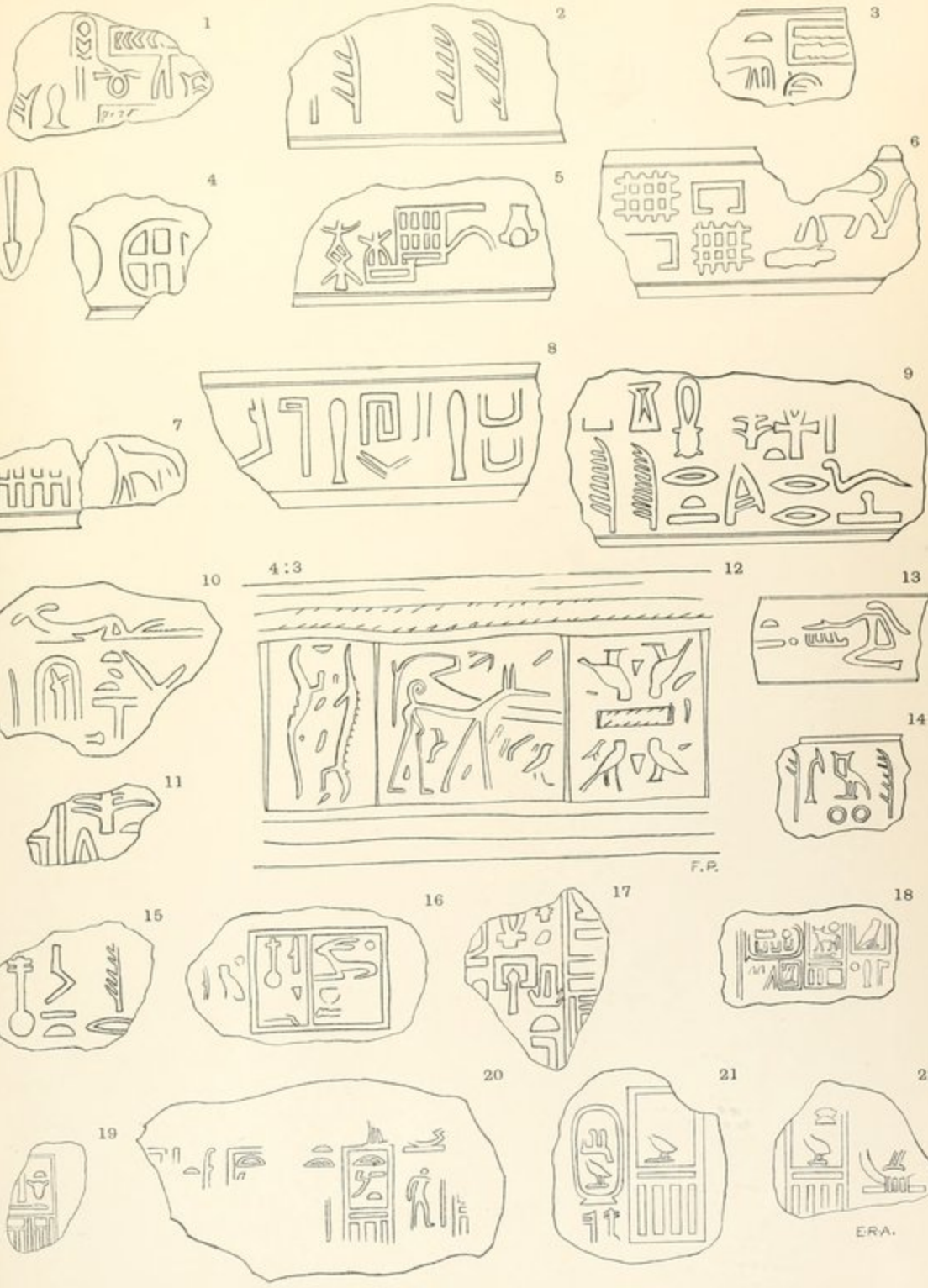
1ST DYN. KING.



KHUFU.

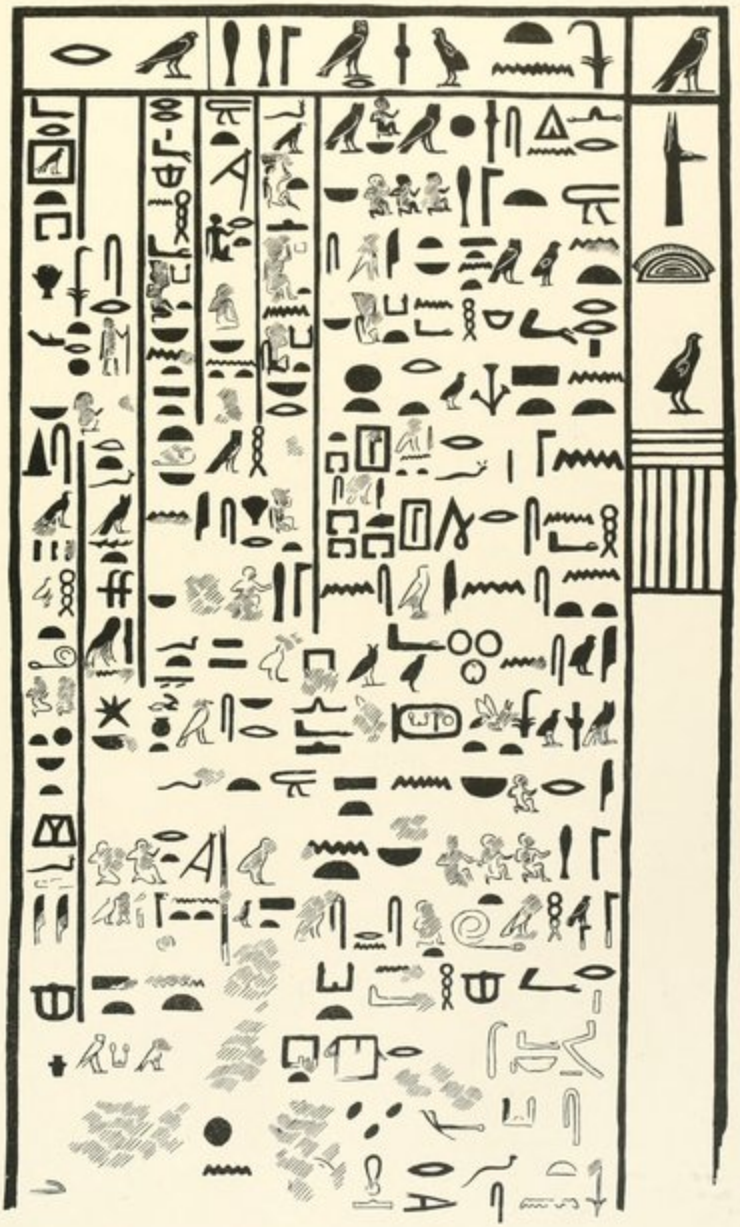

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HORNSTONE
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EBONY
W.M.


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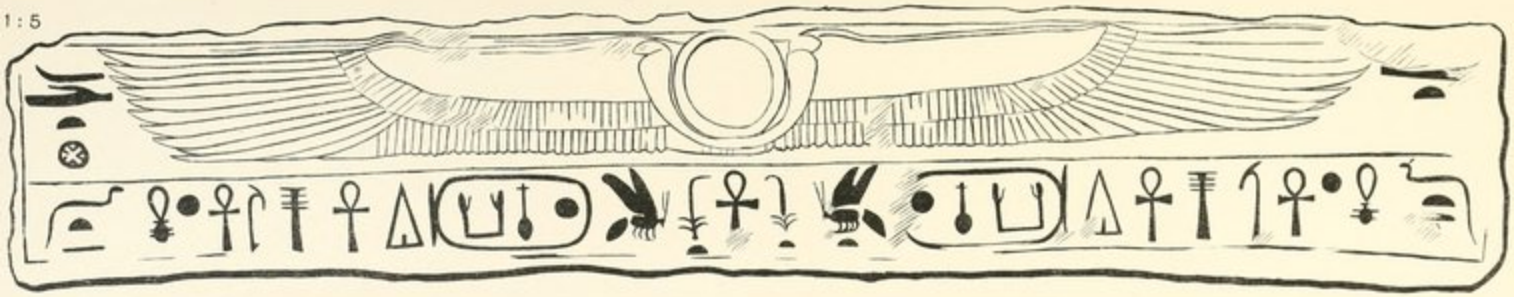


F.H.



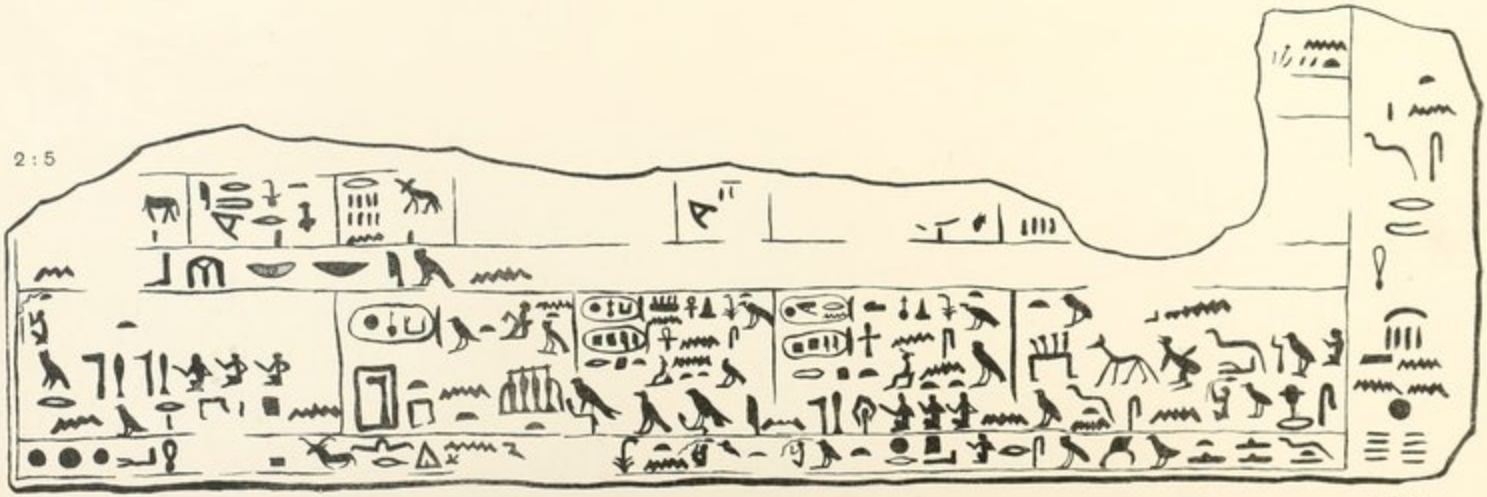
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1 : 5

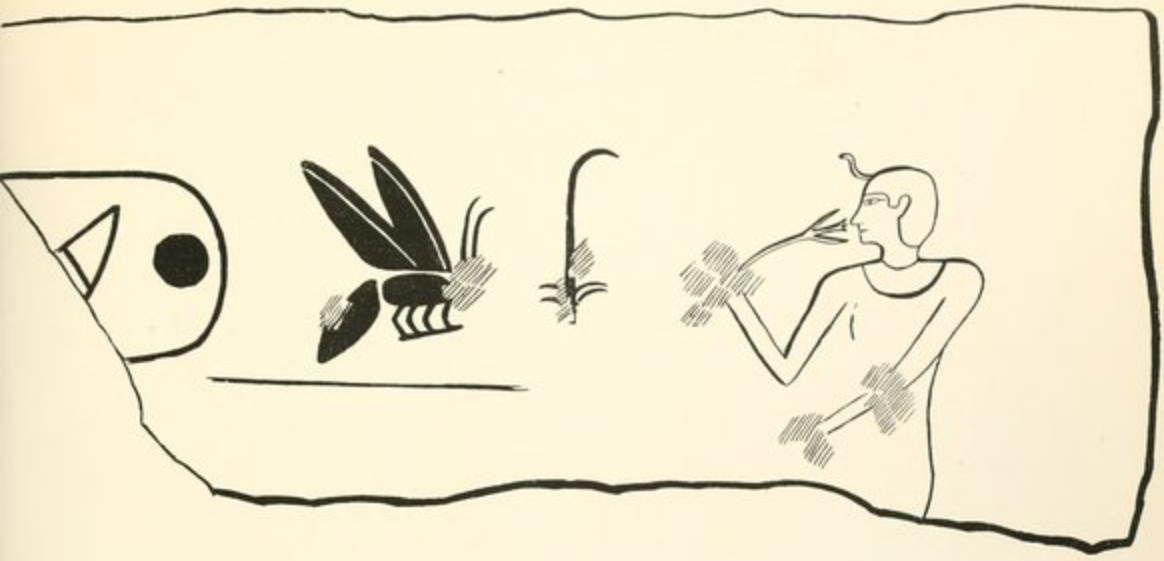


F.H.

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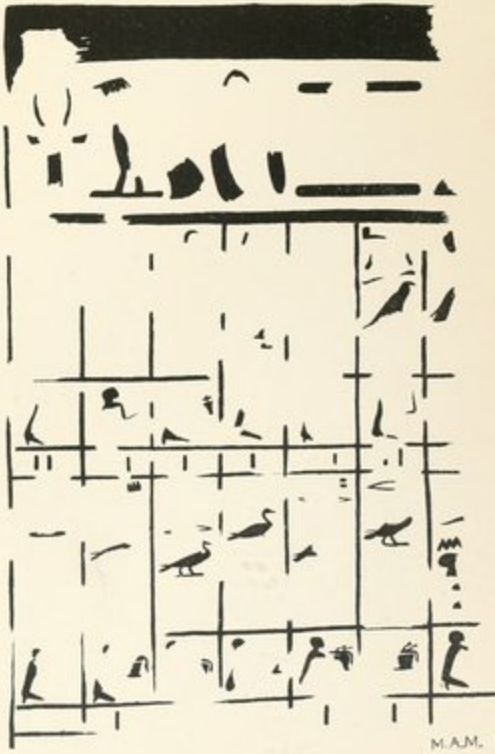


M.A.M.



F.H.





M.A.M.



COPPER VASE, 232, PAPYRUS HOLDER, 235 AND BOWLS, 235, 252.



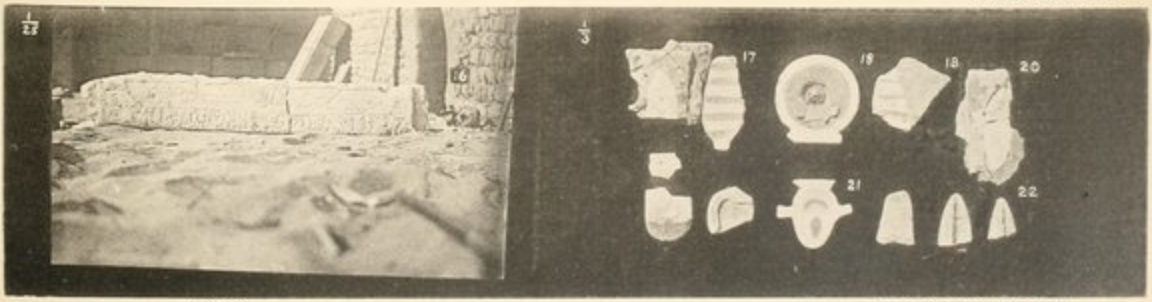
255.
ALABASTER VASES.

GILT COPPER FEATHERS.



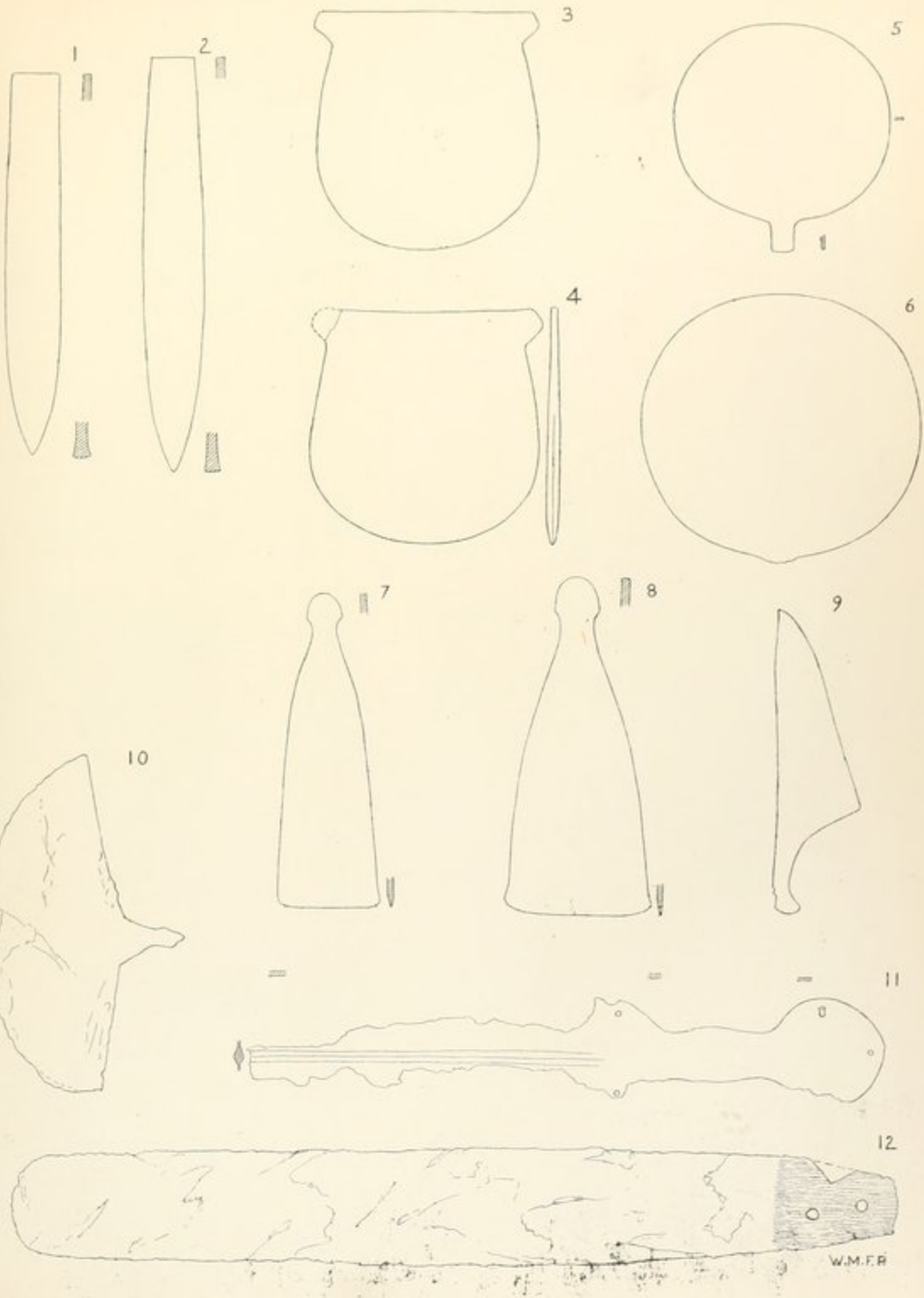
TABLETS OF PEPY I. AND II.

LIMESTONE STELE.



LINTEL.

GLAZED DECORATION.


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W.M.F.P.



1. MENTUHOTEP III.



2. SANKH-KA-RA.



3. SANKH-KA-RA. (?)



4. BEFORE USERTESEN I. 5. SANKH-KA-RA. 6. USERTESEN I.



7

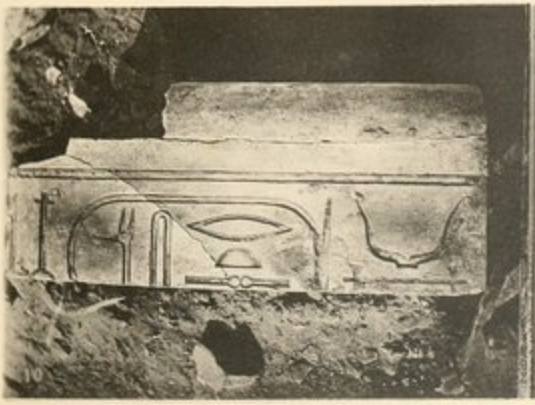


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FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF USERTESEN I., AND COPING.

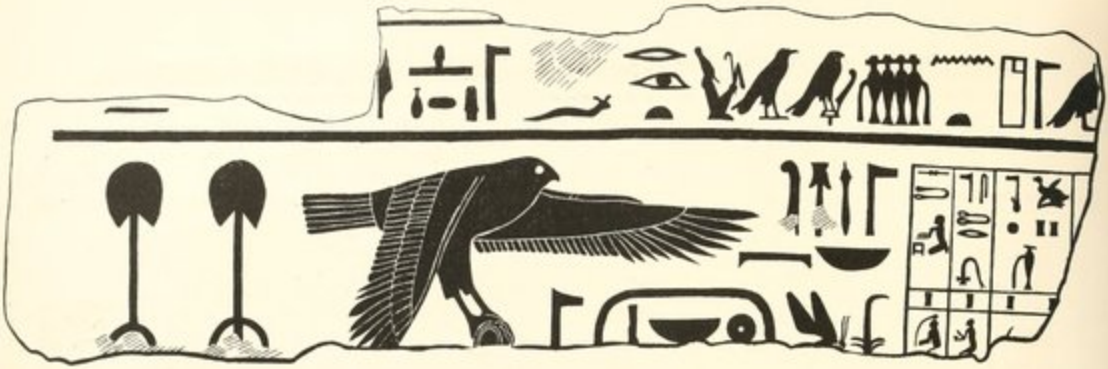


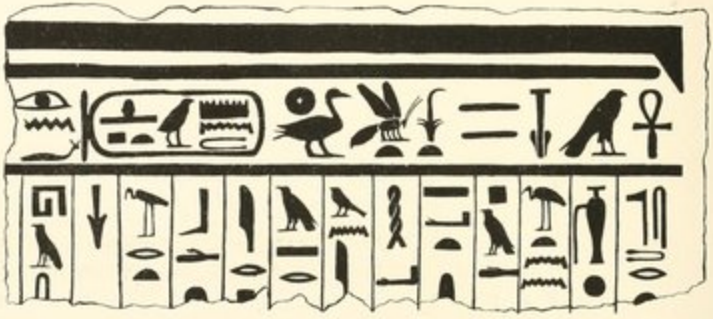
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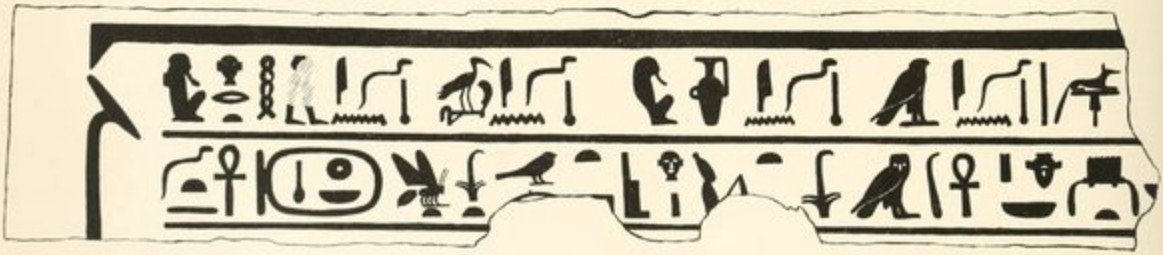


11

COPING AND LINTEL OF USERTESEN I.

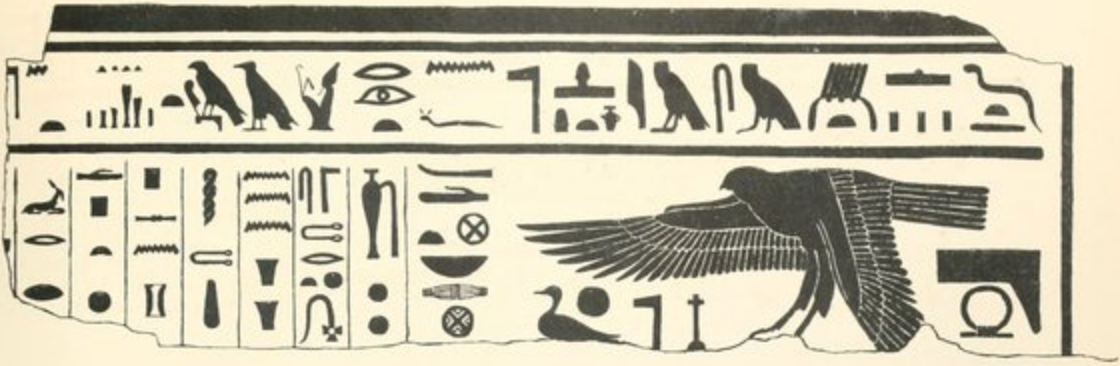


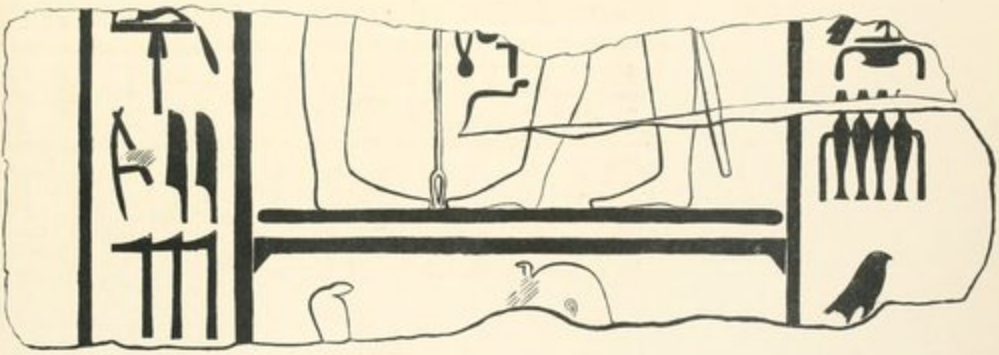


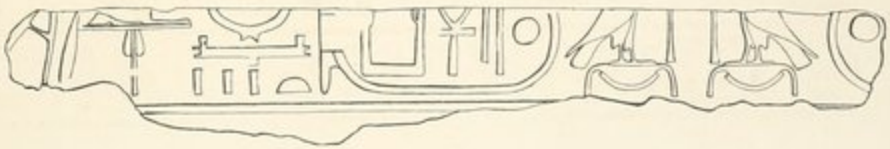


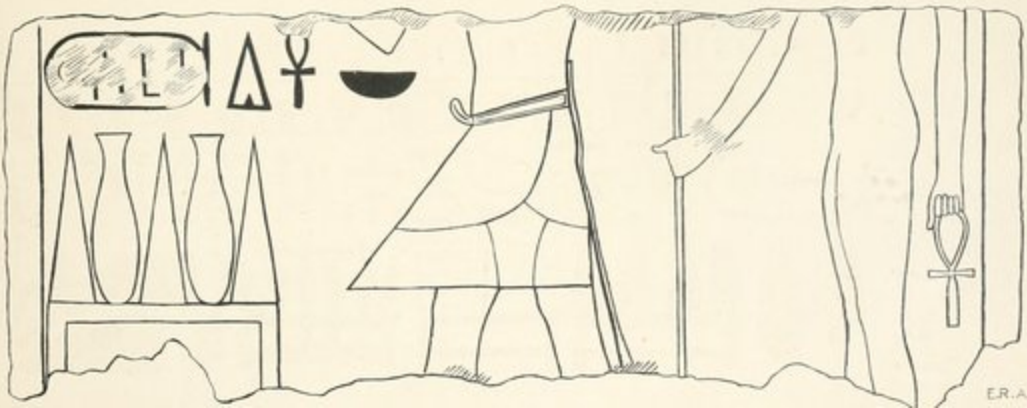


ERA
W.M.F



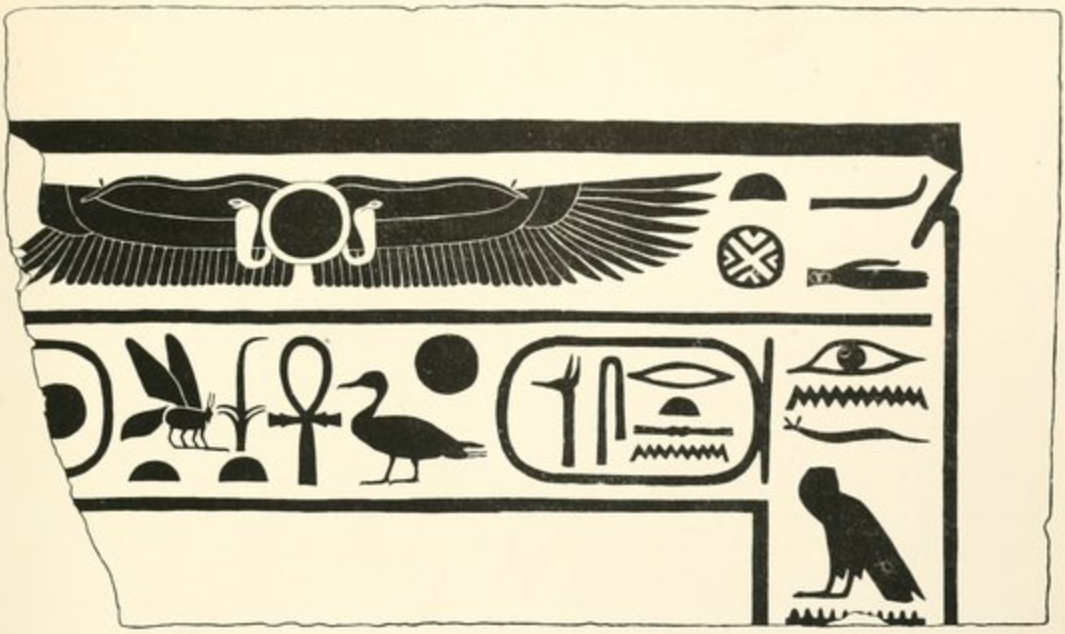






E.R.A

1:5



H.P.

1:3



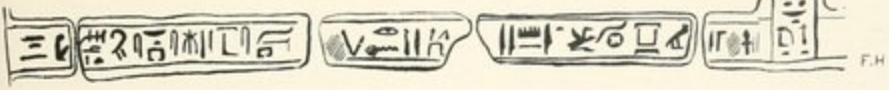
STELE OF ATHA.



STATUETTE OF THE VIZIER AMENY.

1:5



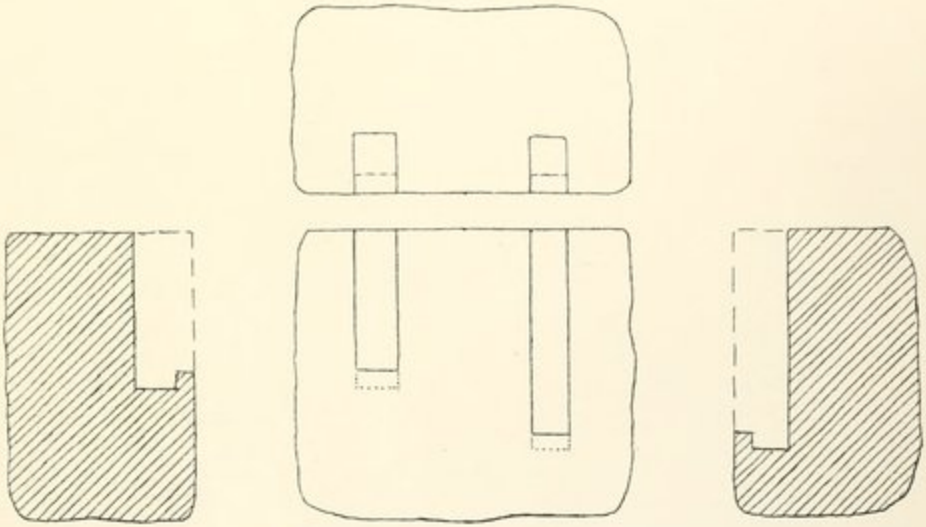


F.H

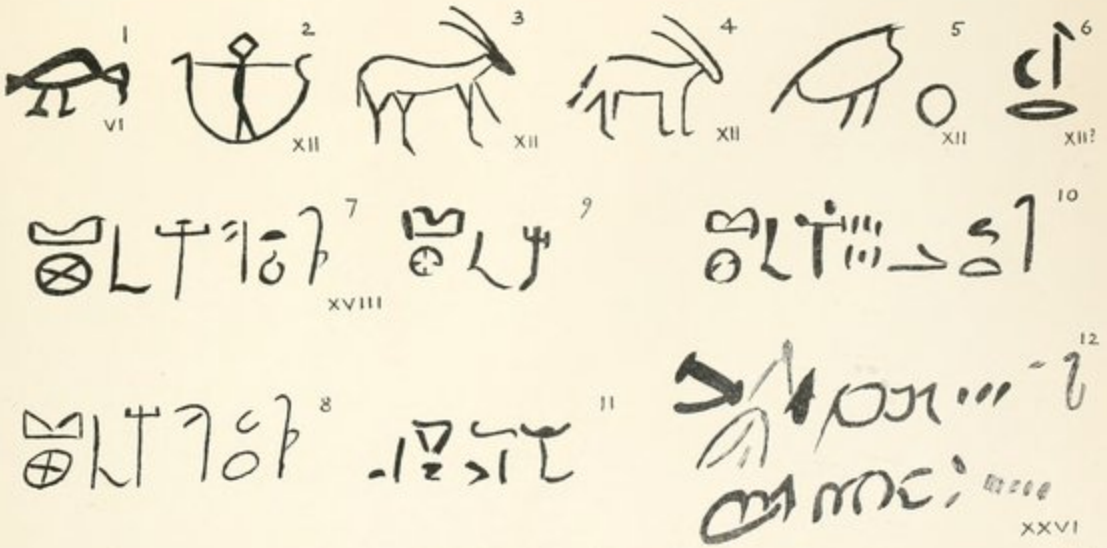


M.A.M.

1:8 STANDARDS OF USERTESEN I

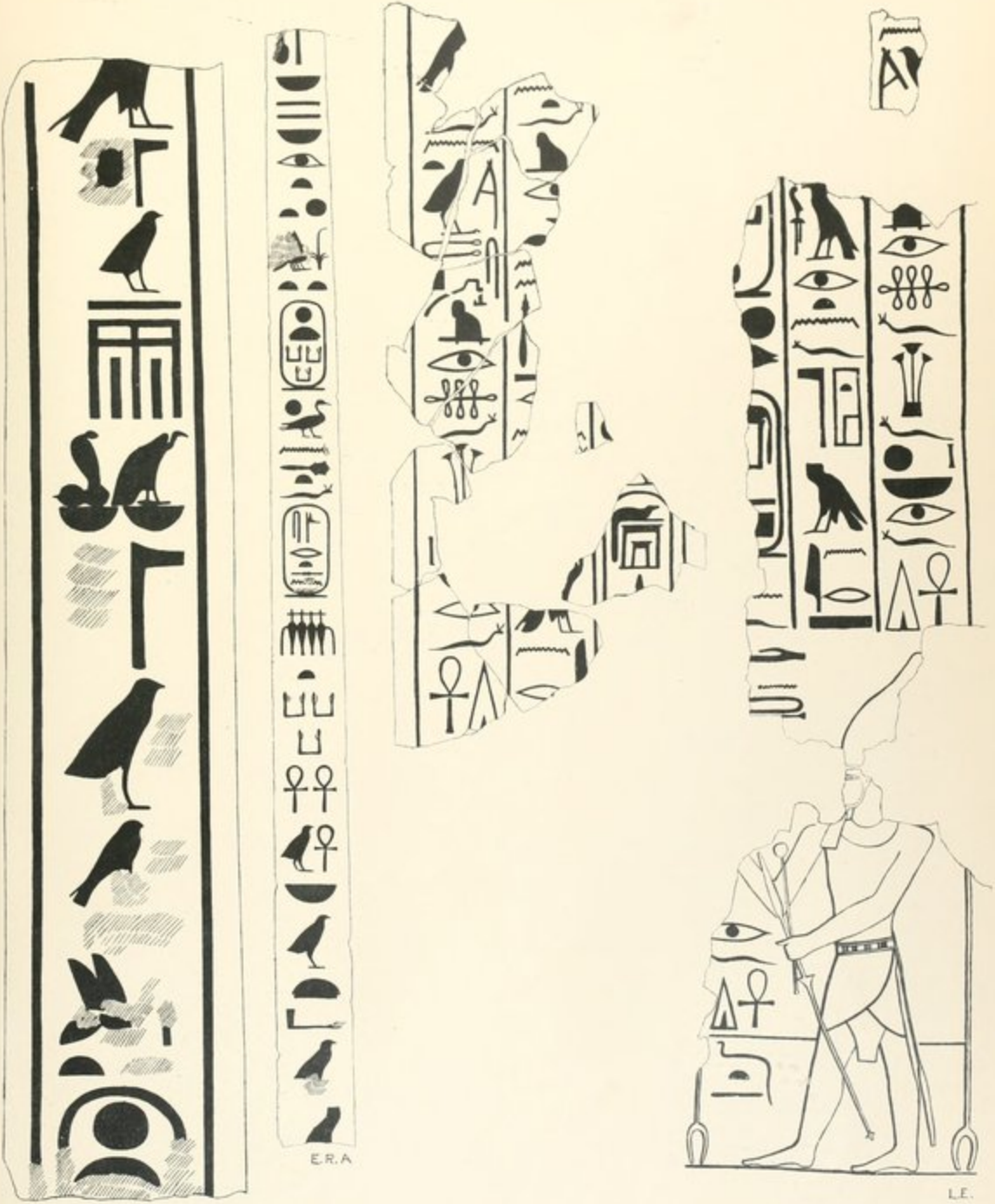


1:10 BLOCK WITH GROOVES BY DOOR OF PEPY.



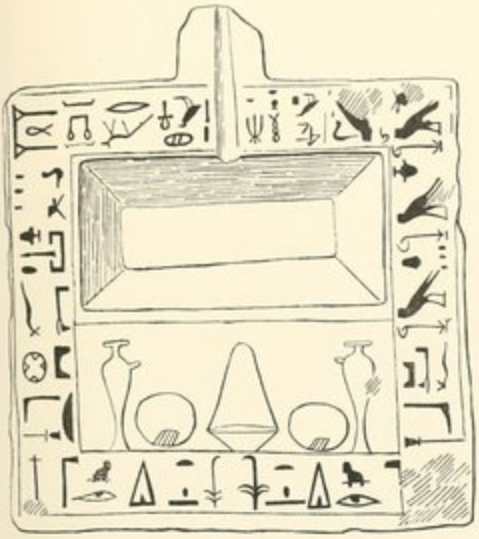
QUARRY MARKS ON BUILDING BLOCKS.

F. P.

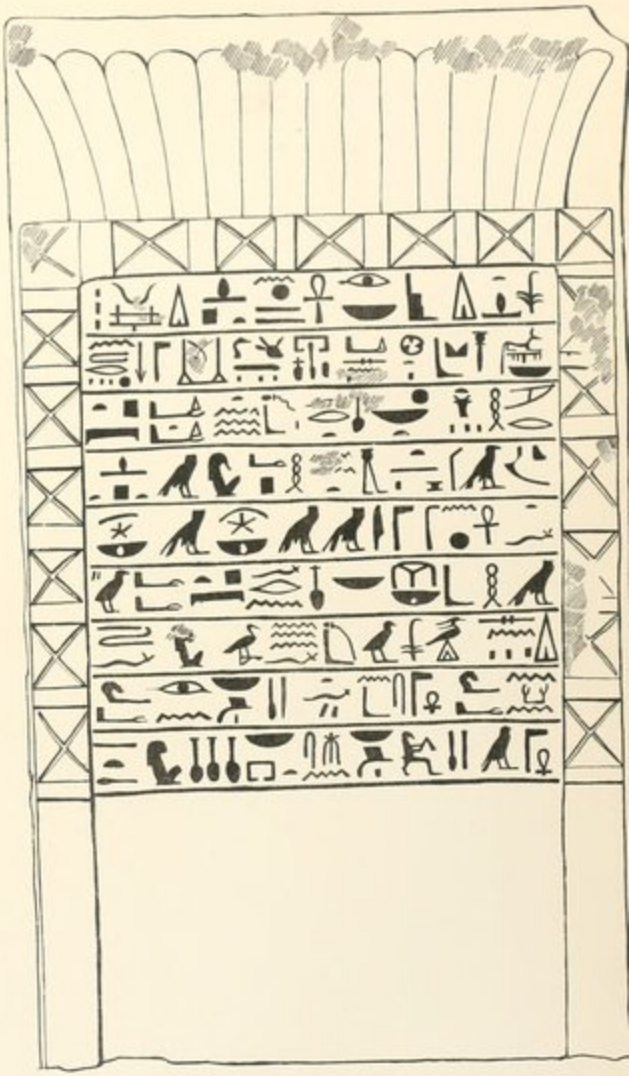


E.R.A

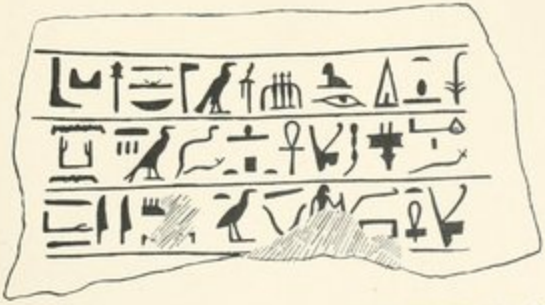
L.E.
F.H.



ALTAR OF ANKHU.



STELE OF SENBTEFI.



FROM FIGURE OF AMENY.

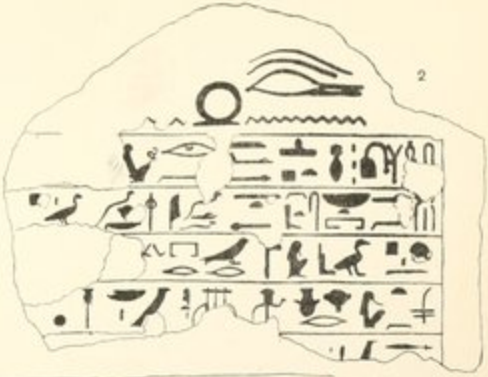


F.H.

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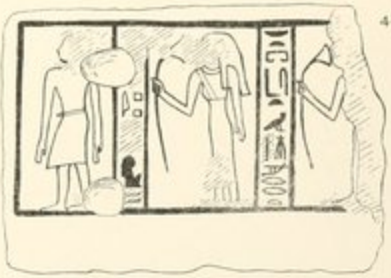


A.M.S

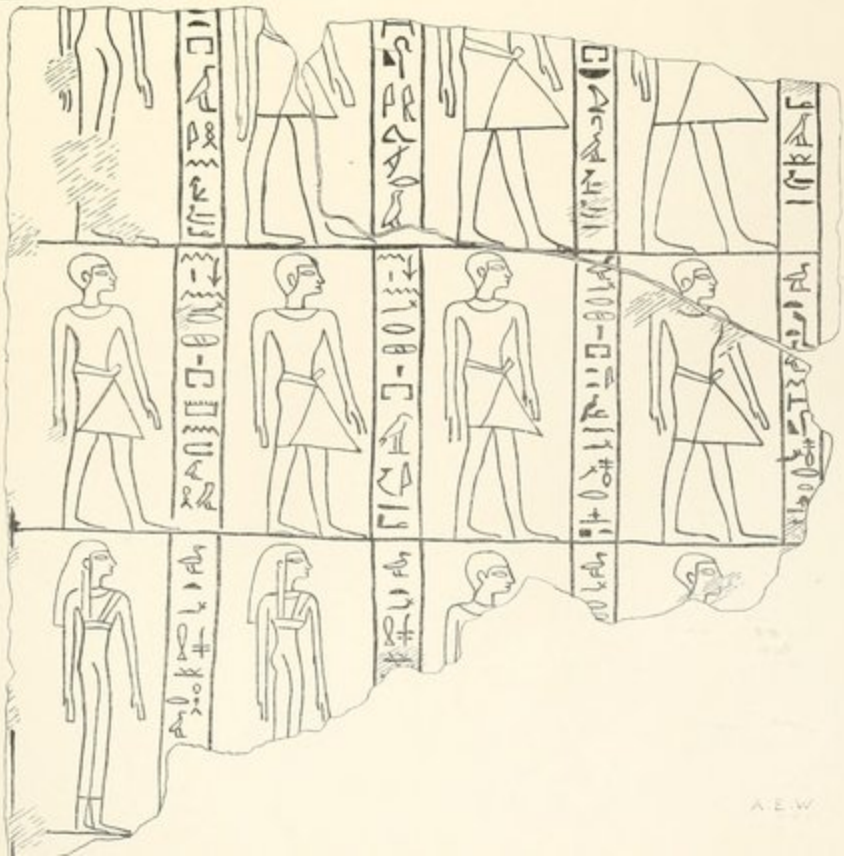
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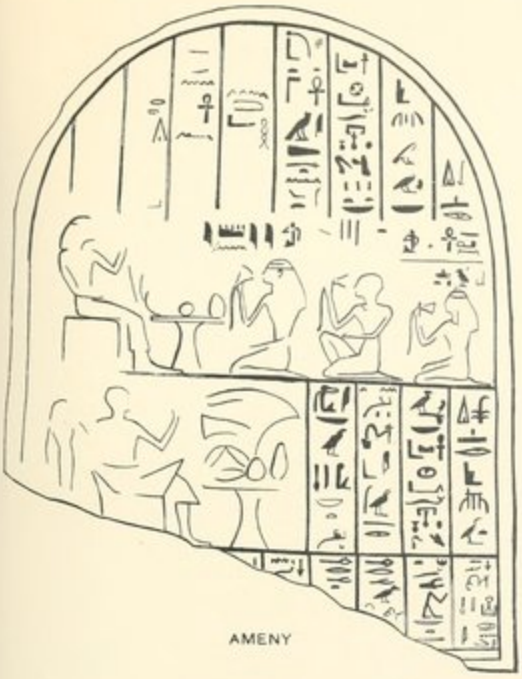
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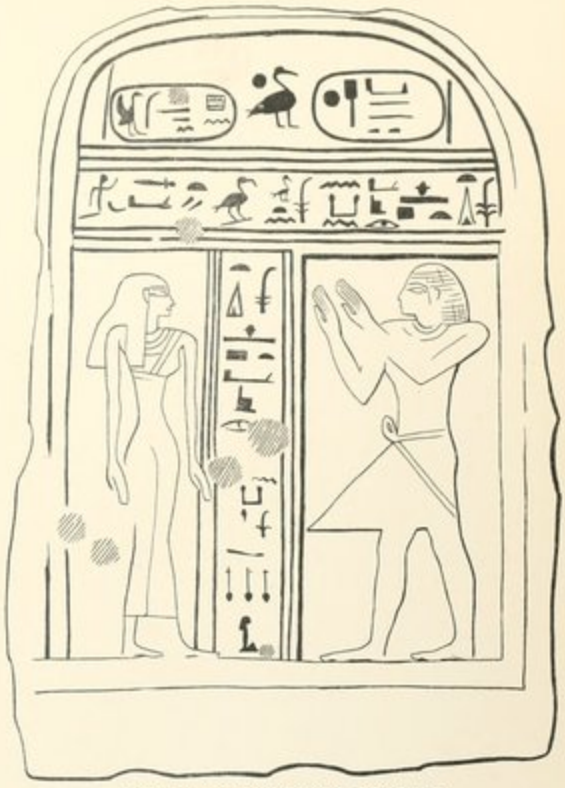
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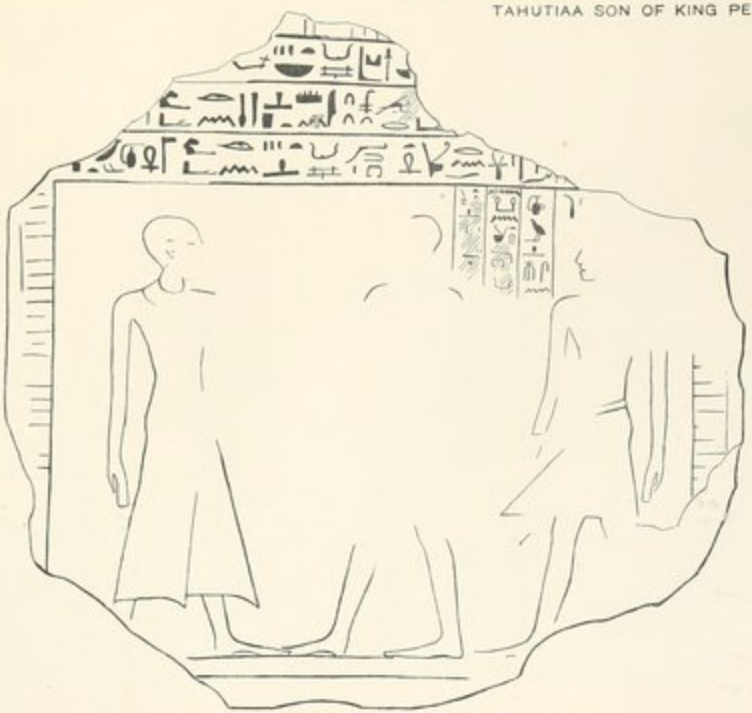
A.E.W.



AMENY



TAHUTIAA SON OF KING PENTHEN.



F.H.



1. INSCRIPTION OF U-AQER-RA.



2. STELE OF PENTHEN



3. STELE OF ANTEF V.



4. ANTEF (?) AND 5. SEBEKEMSAF.



6. SEBEKHOTEP III. (?)



7. QUEEN.



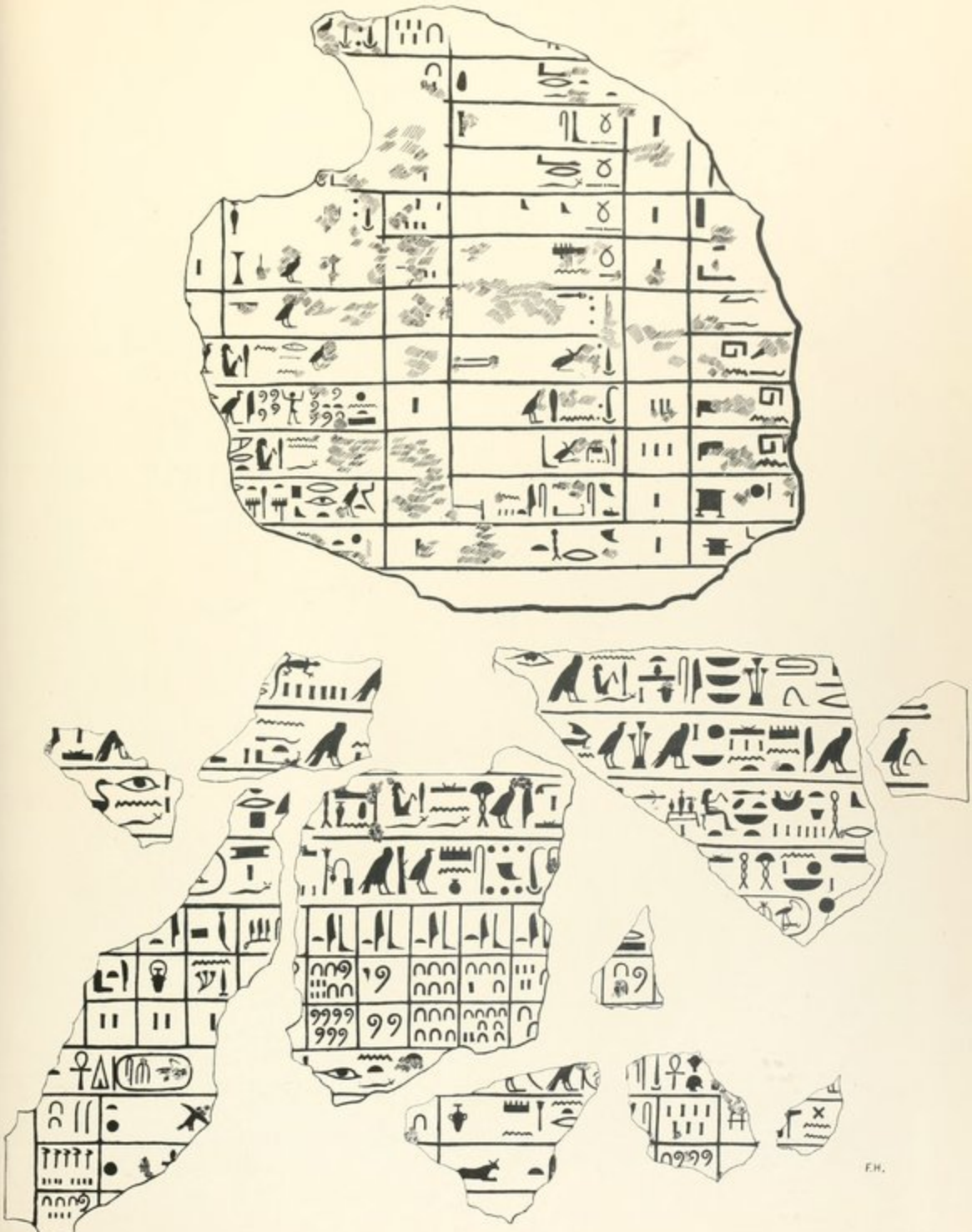
8. AAHMES I.



9. FOUNDATION DEPOSIT, TAHUTMES III. 10. AMENEMHEB. 11. AMENHOTEP.



E·R·A



F.H.



1. OF SETY I.



2. FIGURE OF RA-HOTEP.

MFA 03.18



3. RAMESSU II.



4. RAMESSIDE GROUP.



5. PA-KHRED-NA-AHU.



6. PYRAMIDION.



7. FIGURE OF RAMESSU IV.

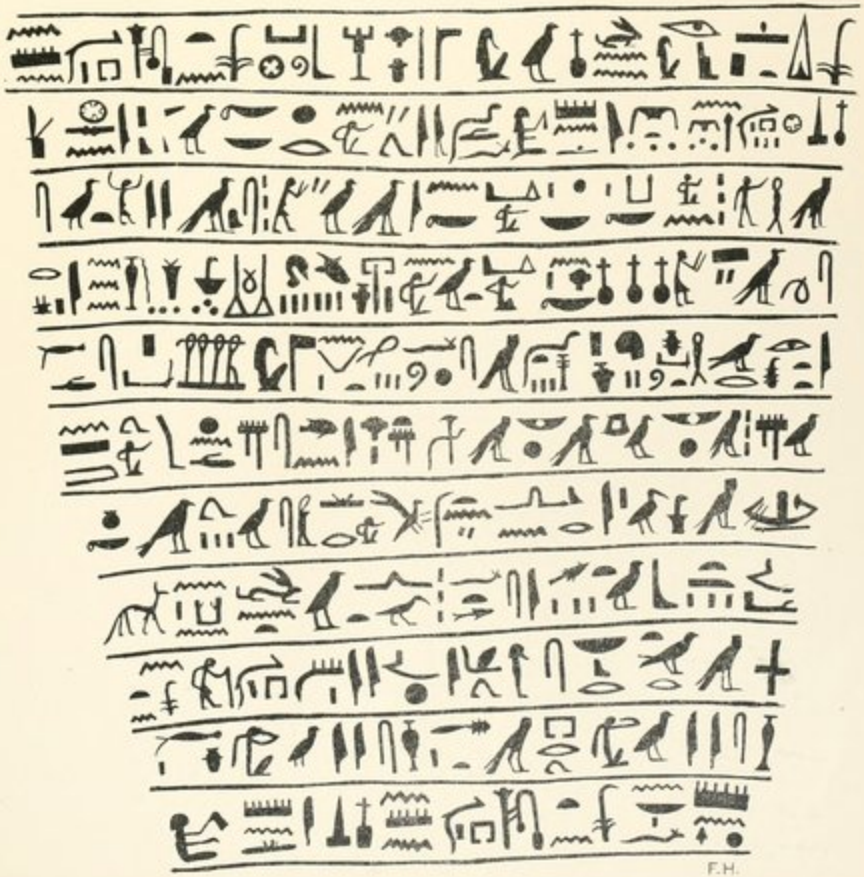


8. QUEEN THIY-MERENAST, RAMESSU III.

2 : 3

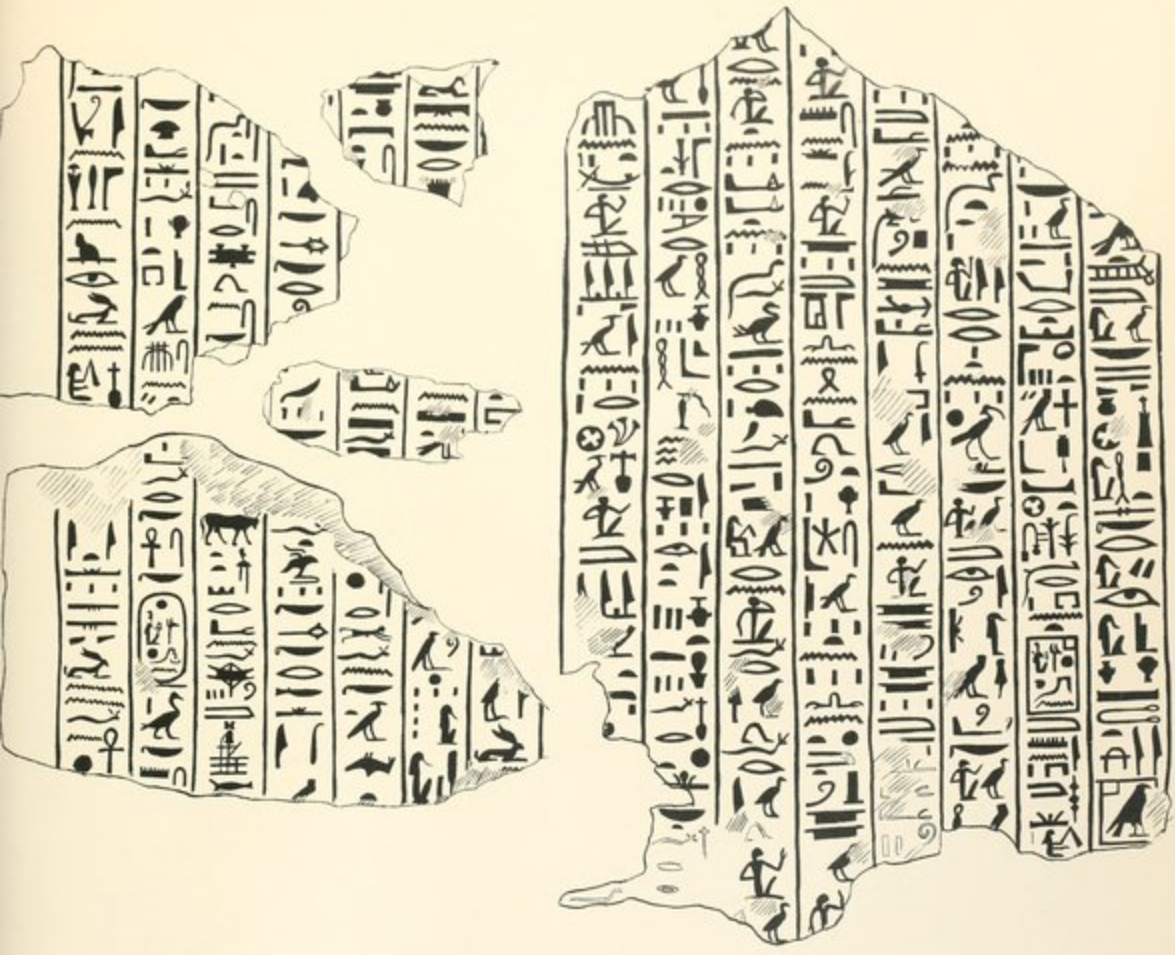


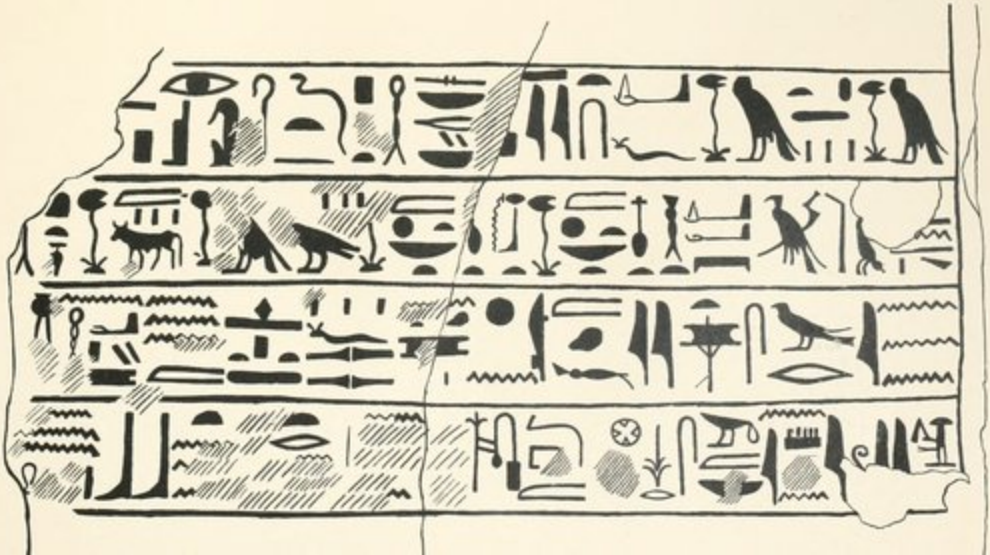
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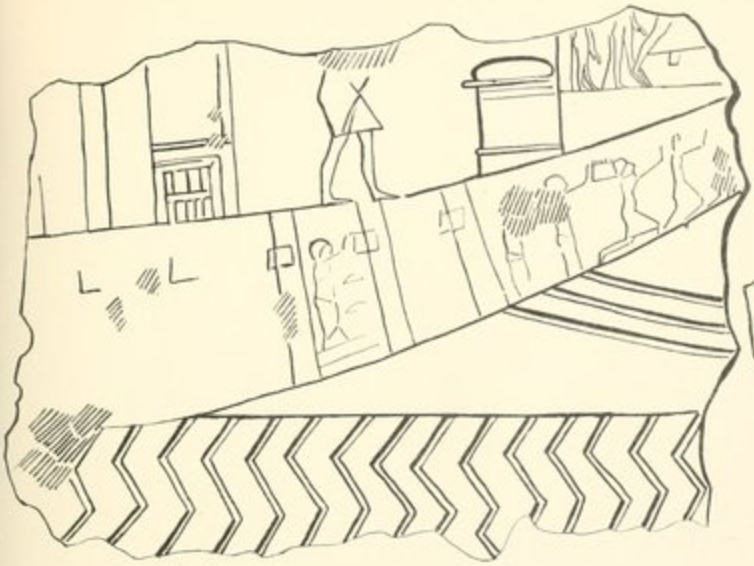
F.H.

F.H.

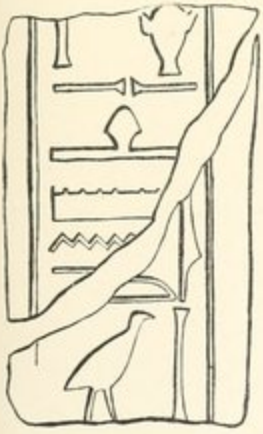




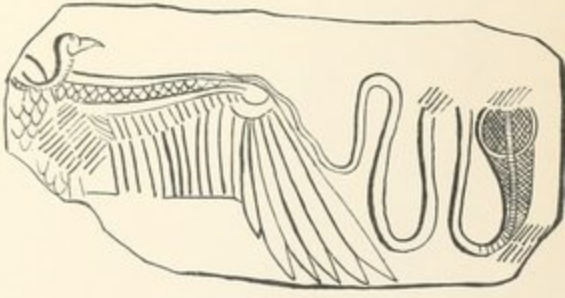
F.H.

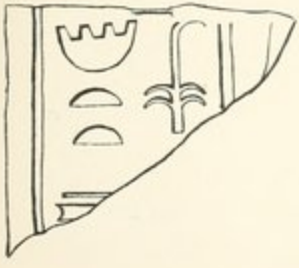






































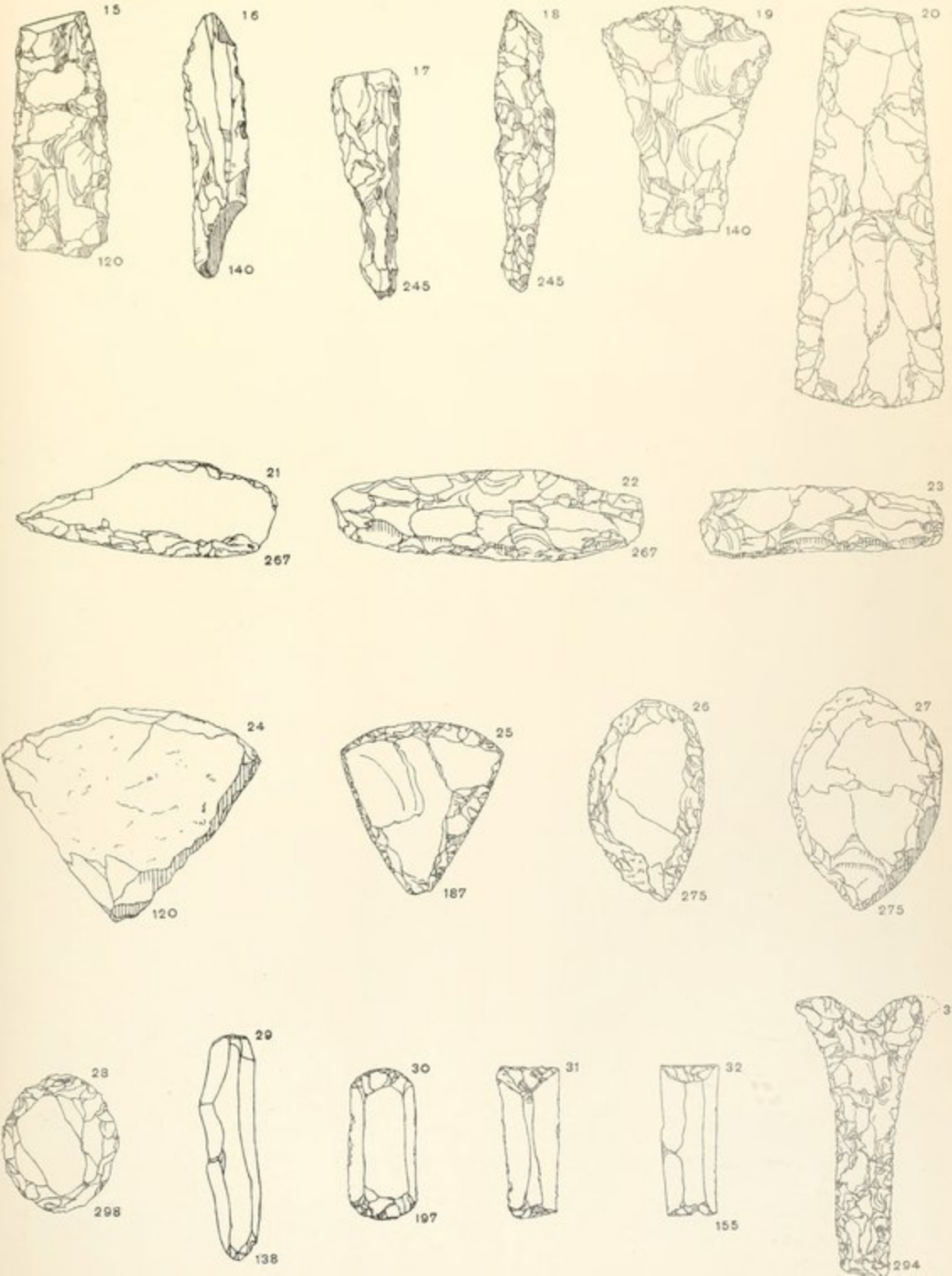








H.P.


15
120
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140
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245
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267
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267
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120
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187
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275
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275
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298
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138
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197
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32
155
33
294



STONE BOWLS





































POTTERY OF FIRST DYNASTY AND EARLIER.

































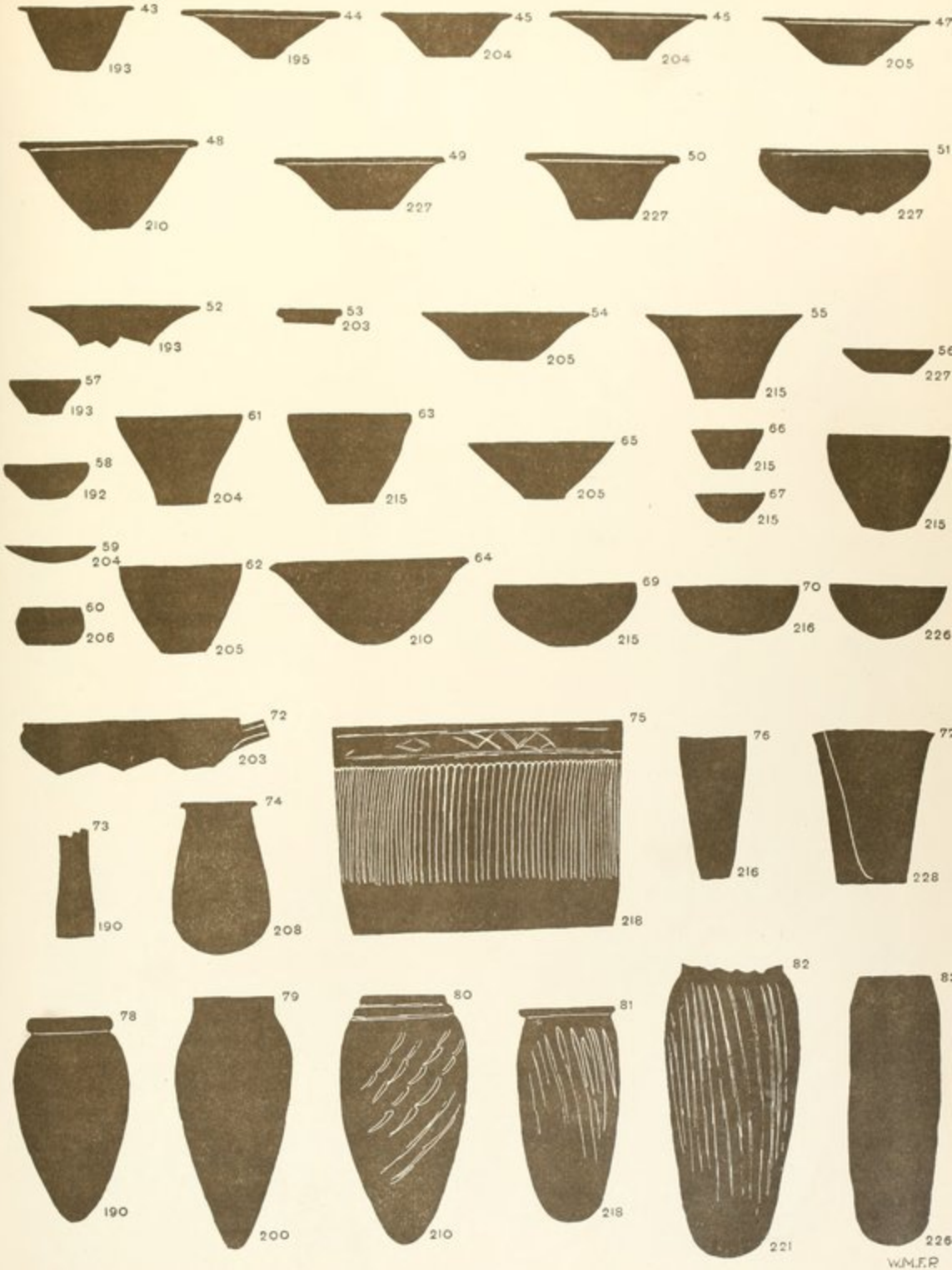






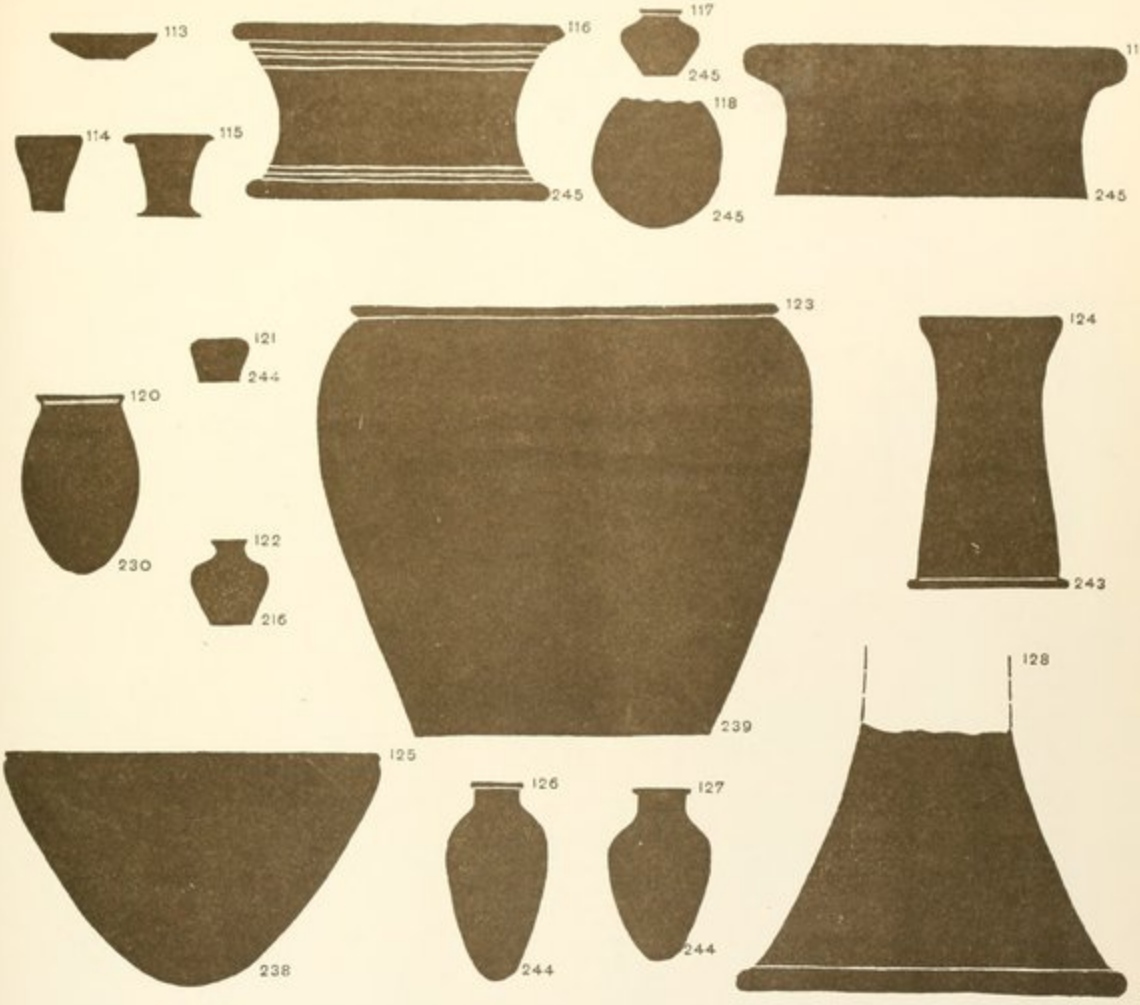




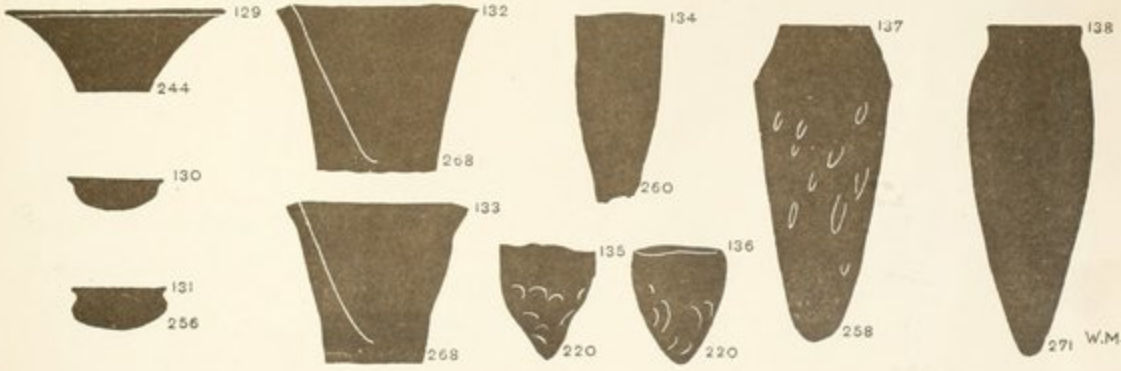

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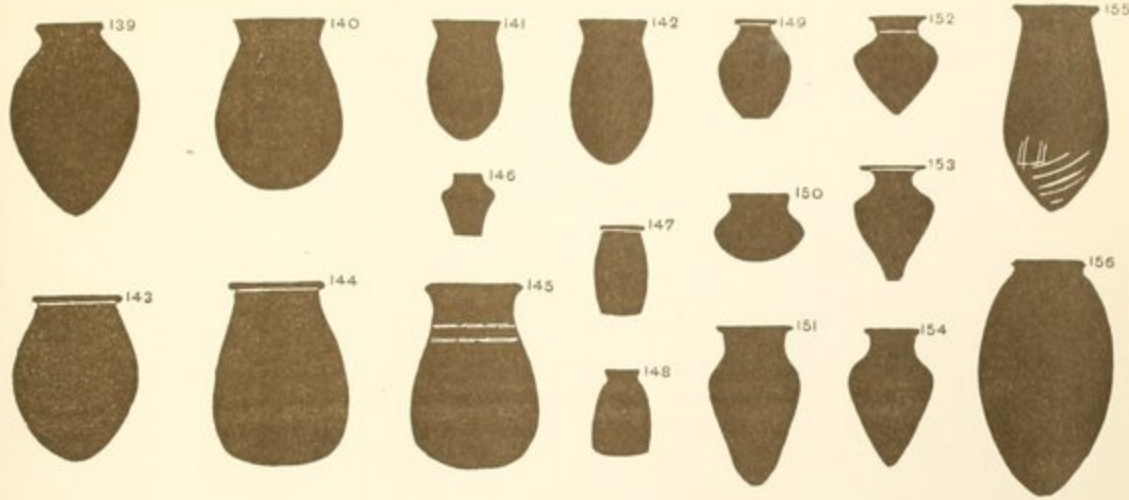
W.M.F.P.


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216
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199
98
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216
102
198
103
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203
109
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112
215
W.M.F.P.

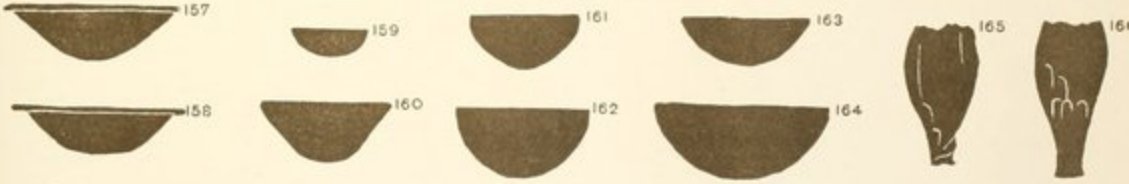


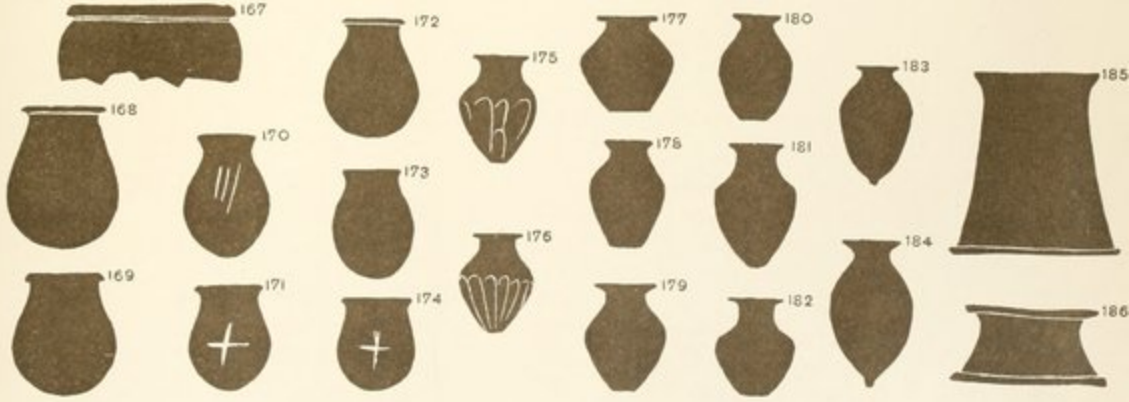
VI TO X DYNASTY.



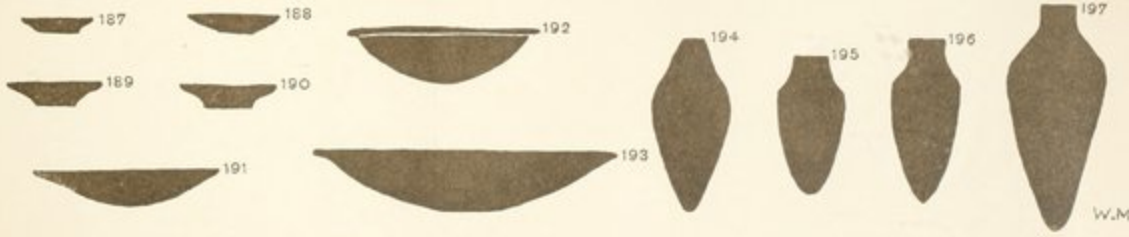


XI DYNASTY.





USERTESEN I, XII DYN.



W.M



1. GENERAL VIEW TO N.W. KOM ES SULTAN BEHIND.



2. OLDEST MASONRY. PEPY GATE BEHIND.



3. E. FRONT OF PEPY GATE. COLONNADE IN FRONT.



4. NAME OF PEPY ON JAMB.



5. BOLT HOLES IN JAMB.



6. GATEWAY IN OUTER WALL.



7. CORNER OF OUTER WALL.



8. STEPS OF SANKH-KA-RA.



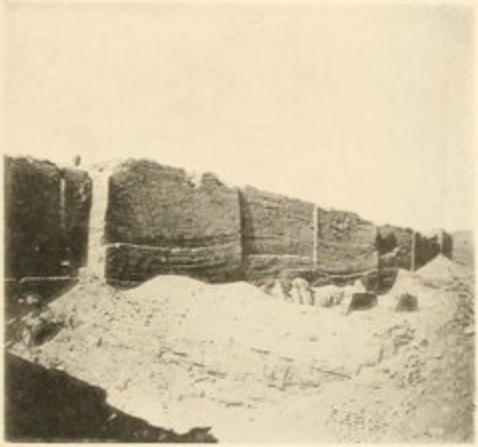
9. TEMPLE DOORSILL OF PEPY.



1. FLOOR OF TEMPLE DOOR OF PEPY.



2. THICK PAVING, USERTESEN I.
THIN PAVING, SANKH-KA-RA



3. TEMENOS WALL. USERTESEN I.



4. WALLS OF CHAPEL OF AMENHOTEP I.



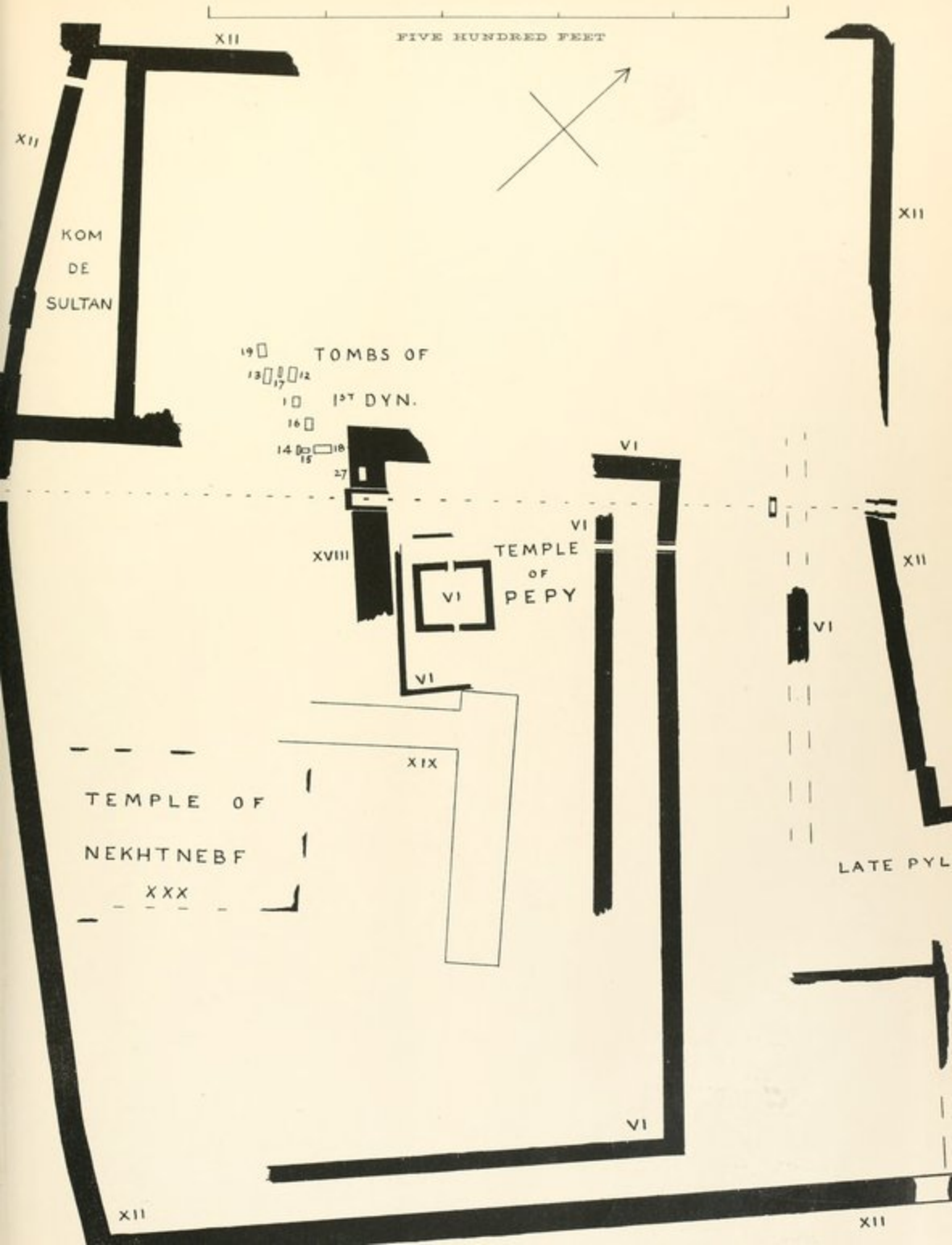
5. CHAPEL OF AMENHOTEP I.



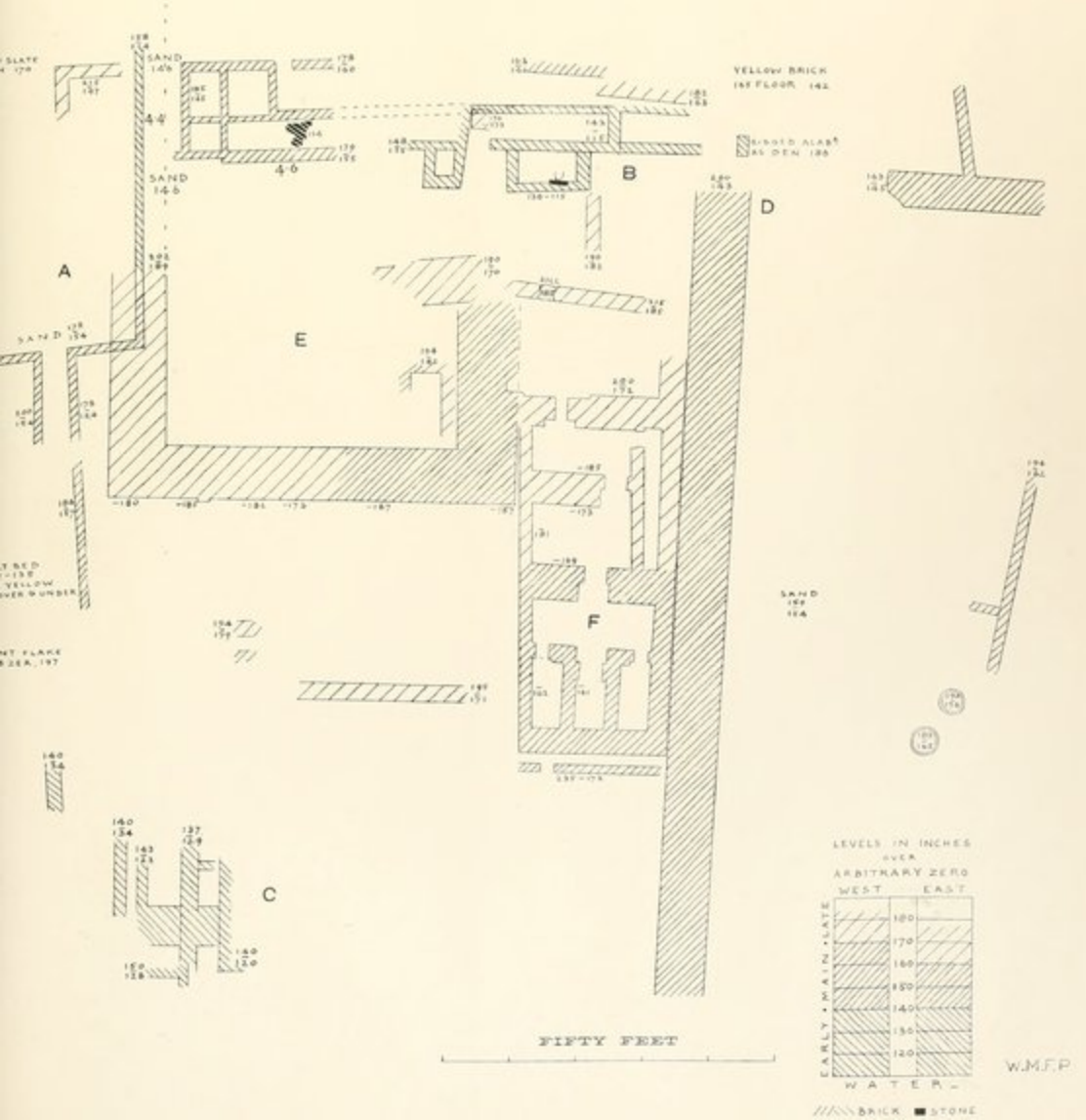
6. FOUNDATIONS OF AAHMES II.



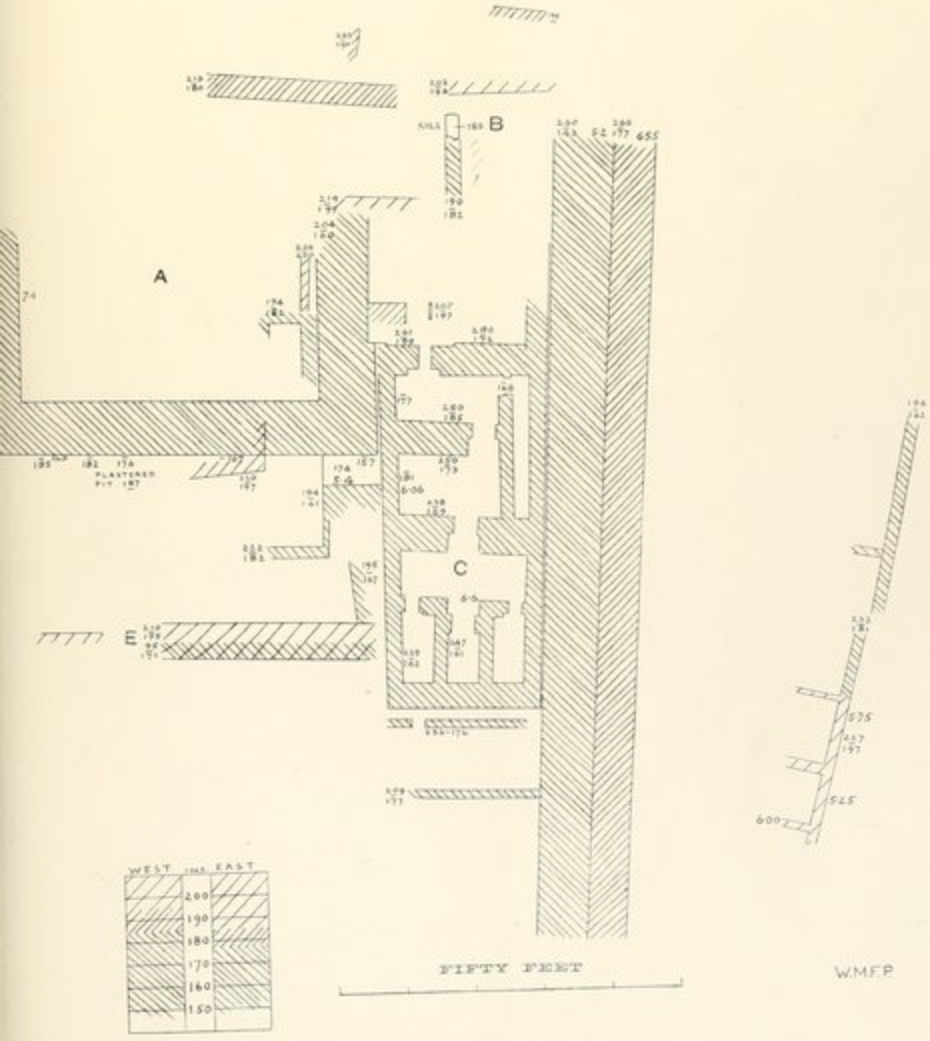
7. COLUMN BASE, AAHMES II.

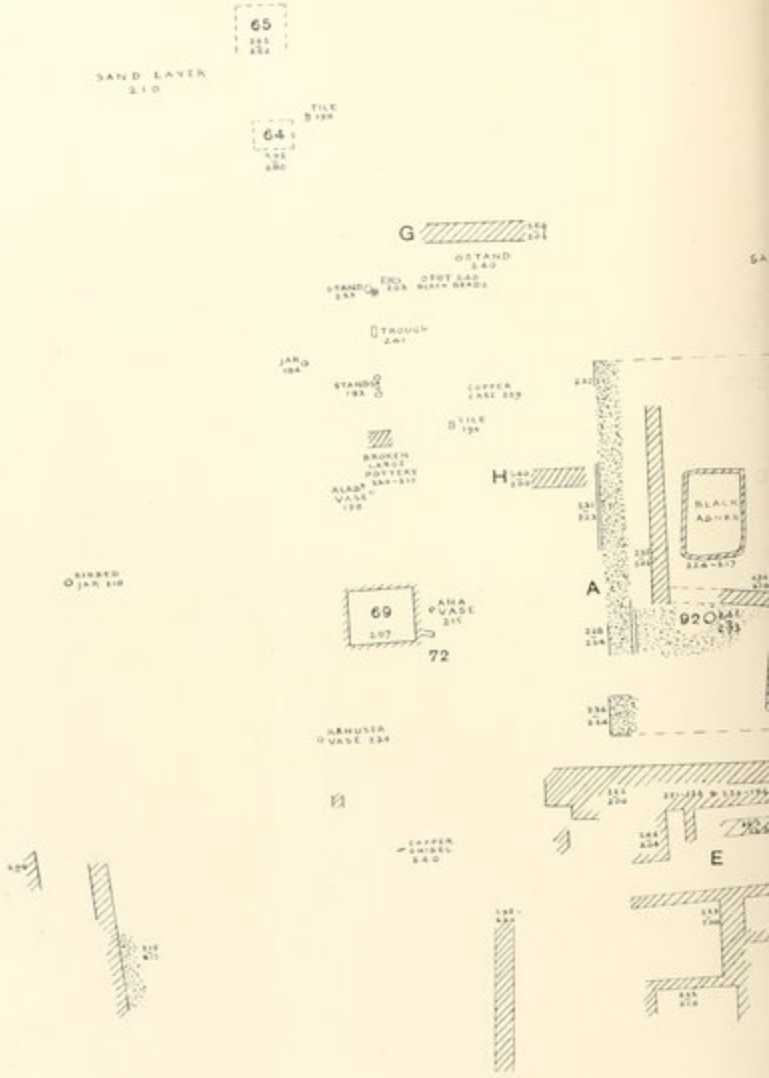

FIVE HUNDRED FEET
XII
XII
KOM
DE
SULTAN
XII
TOMBS OF
1ST DYN.
19
13
17
12
1
16
14
15
18
27
VI
VI
XVIII
TEMPLE
OF
PEPY
VI
VI
XII
VI
XIX
TEMPLE OF
NEKHTNEBF
XXX
LATE PYL
VI
XII
XII

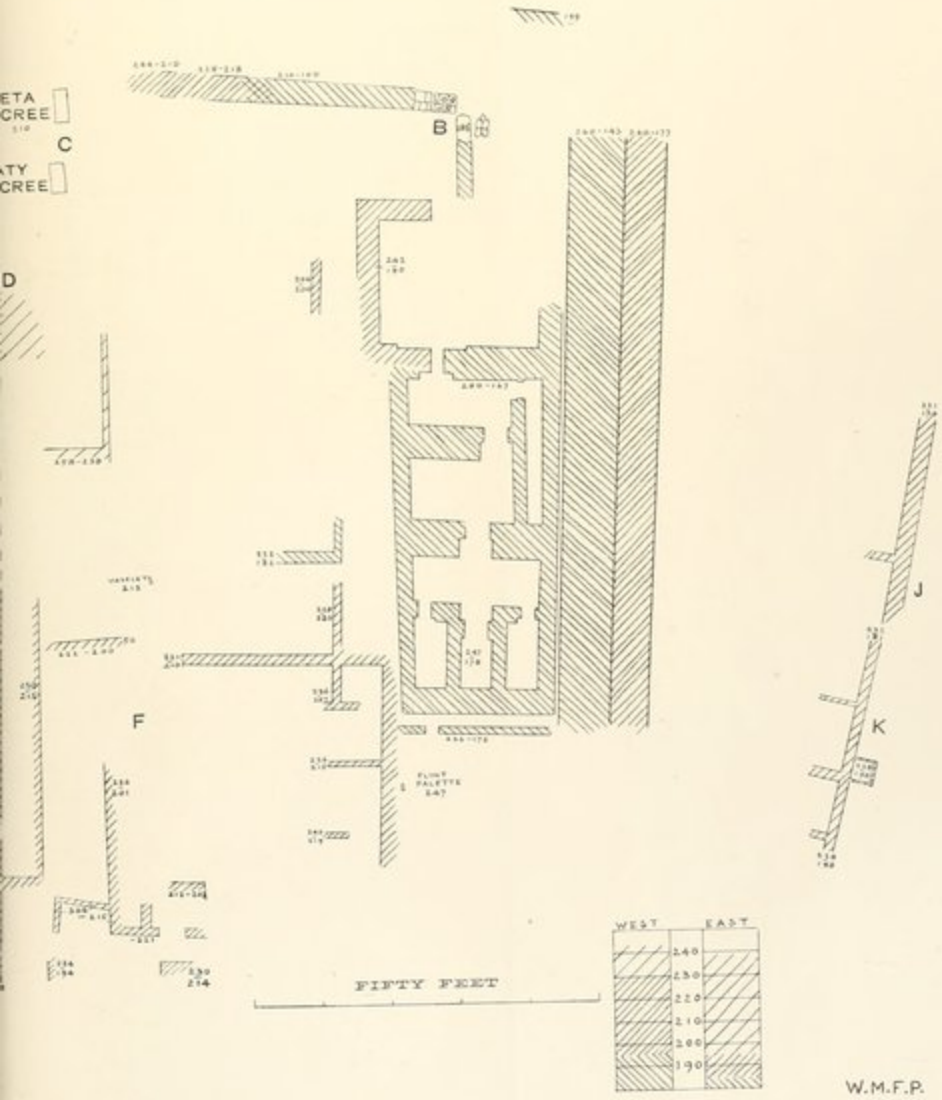


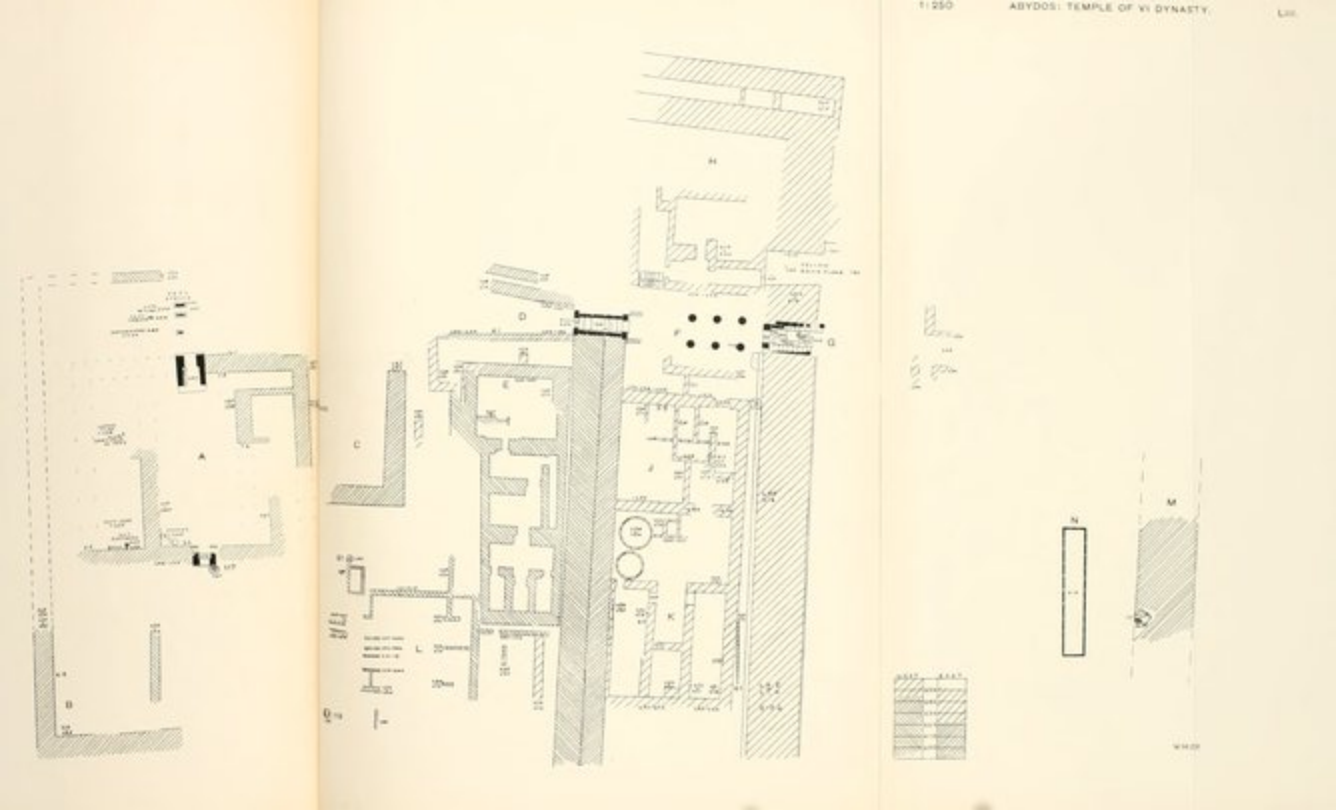

SAND
146
4·4
4·6
SAND
146
YELLOW BRICK
FLOOR 142
A
B
C
D
E
F
SAND
SAND
FIFTY FEET
LEVELS IN INCHES
OVER
ARBITRARY ZERO
WEST
EAST
EARLY · MAIN · LATE
180
170
160
150
140
130
120
WATER
BRICK
STONE
W.M.F.P

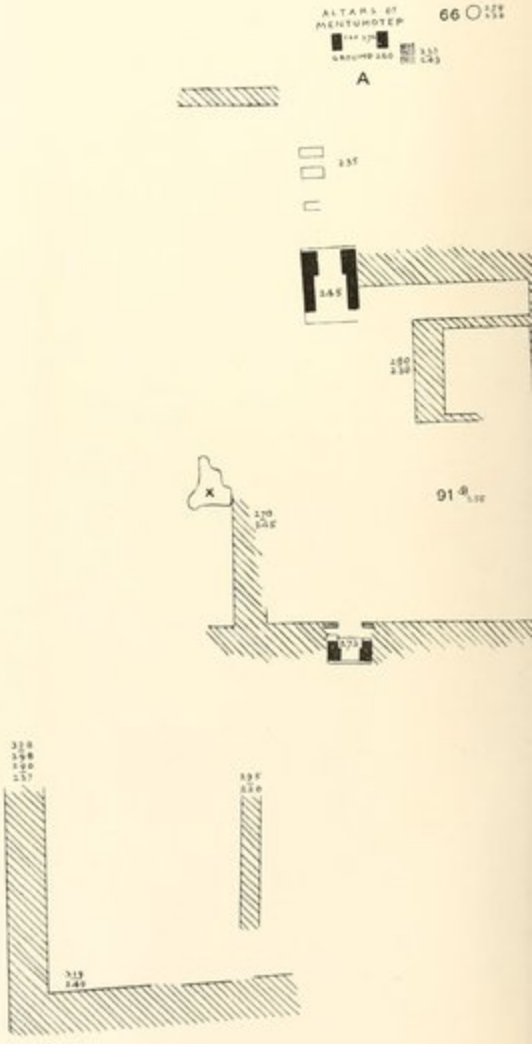


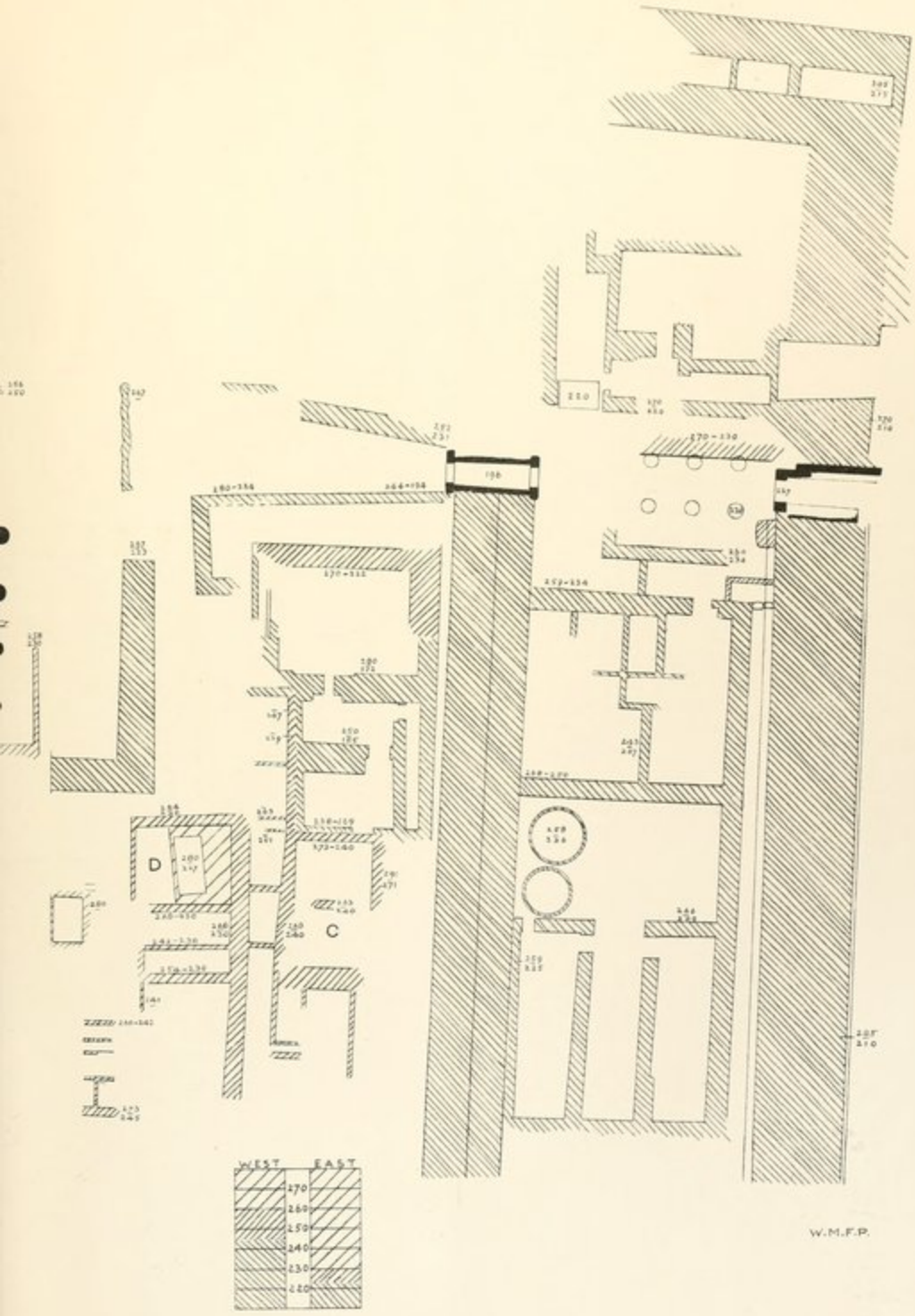

A
B
C
E
PLASTERED PIT 187
WEST
EAST
200
190
180
170
160
150
FIFTY FEET
W.M.F.P.

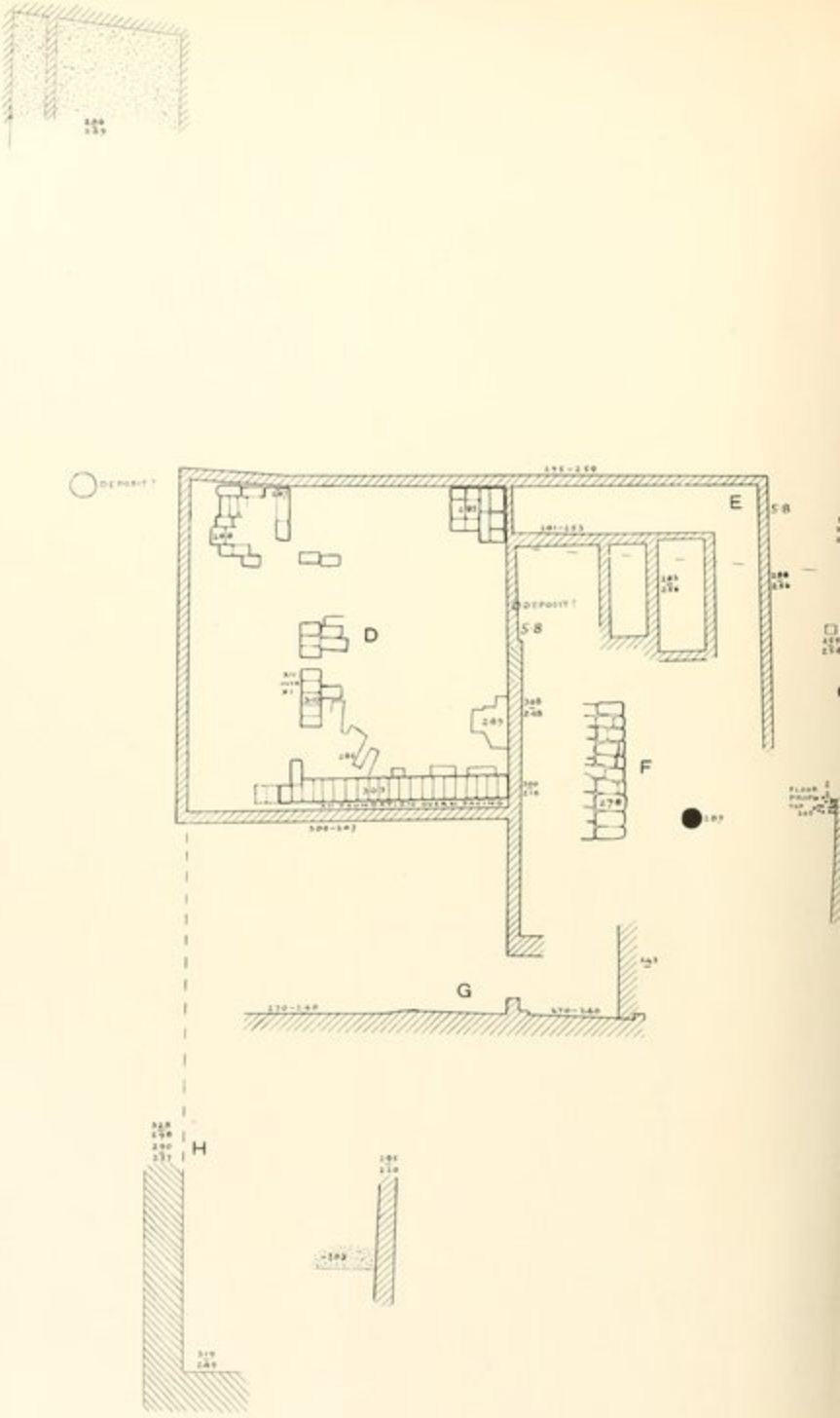

65
SAND LAYER
210
TILE
64
G
STAND
TROUGH
241
JAR
STAND
193
TILE
BROKEN LARGE POTTERY
ALABASTER VASE
H
BLACK ASHES
A
RIBBED JAR 219
69
207
ANA VASE
72
92
ARHUSER VASE 334
COPPER CHISEL
E

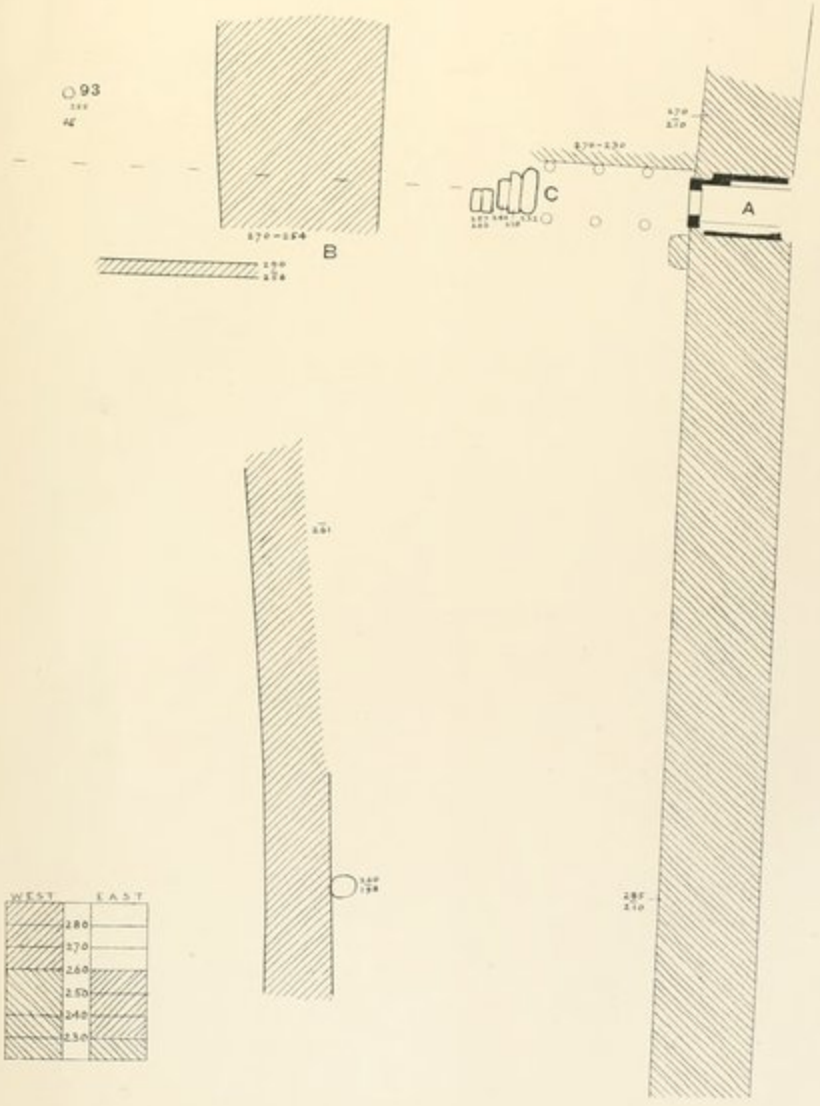

B
C
D
F
J
K
FIFTY FEET
WEST
EAST
240
230
220
210
200
190
W.M.F.P.

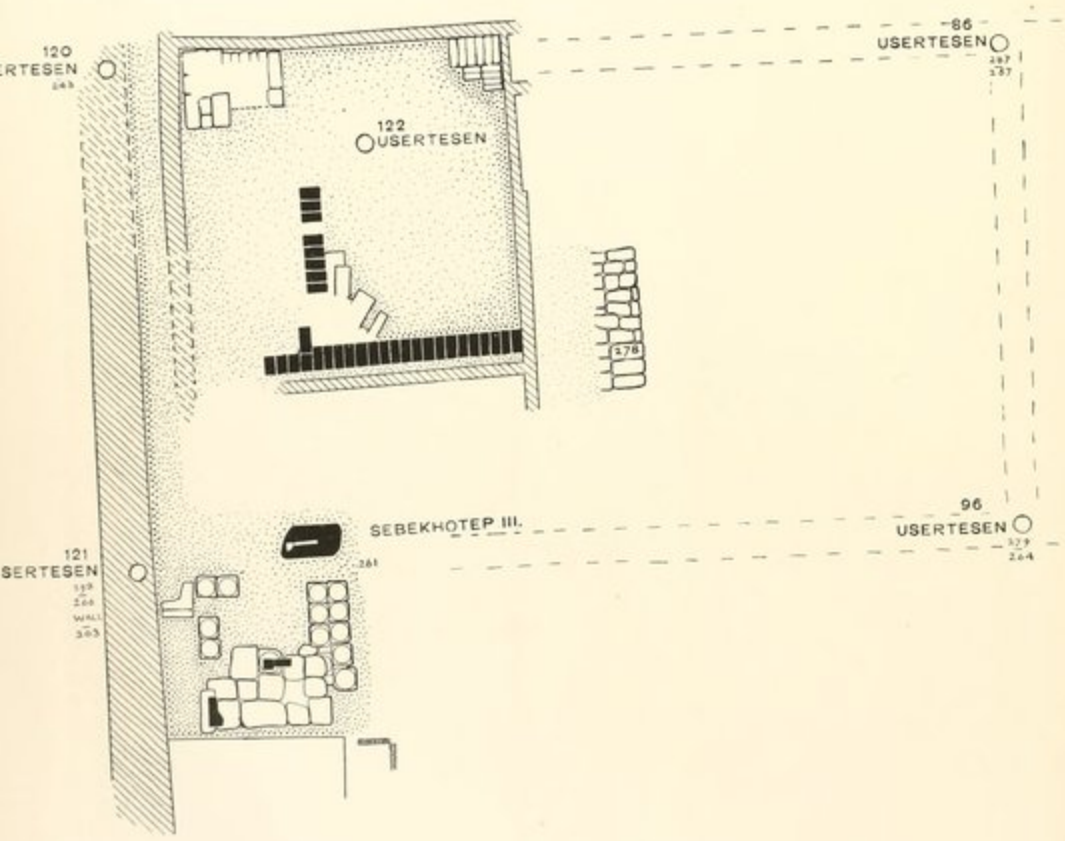

1:250
ABYDOS: TEMPLE OF VI DYNASTY.
LIII.
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
K
L
M
N


ALTAR OF MENTUHOTEP
66
A
237
245
250
91
X
270
275
313
315
320


D
C
WEST
EAST
270
260
250
240
230
220
W.M.F.P.

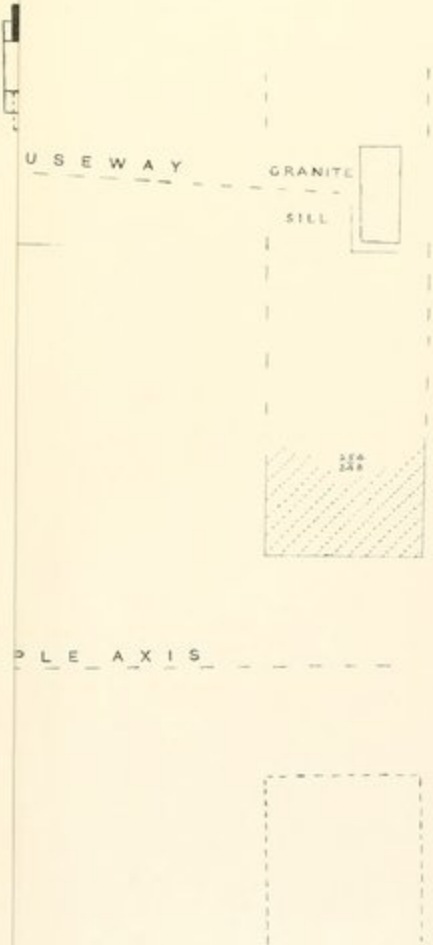

DEPOSIT?
E
D
58
DEPOSIT?
F
G
H

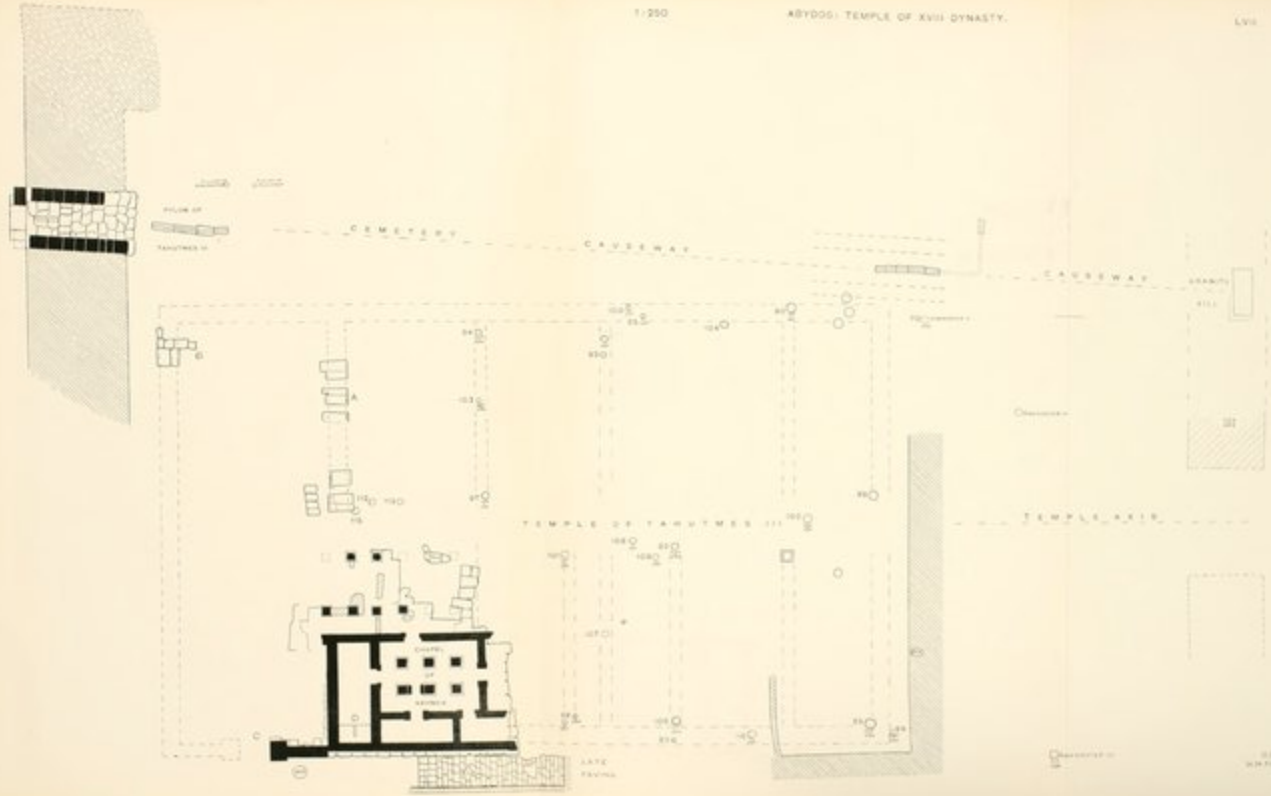

93
B
C
A
WEST
EAST
280
270
260
250
240
230


120
RTESEN
86
USERTESEN
122
USERTESEN
SEBEKHOTEP III.
96
USERTESEN
121
SERTESEN






U S E W A Y
GRANITE
SILL
P L E A X I S


CEMETERY
CAUSEWAY
CAUSEWAY
TEMPLE OF THUTMES III
TEMPLE AXIS
LATE PAVING



1:250

ABYDOS: TEMPLES OF XX AND XXVI DYNASTIES

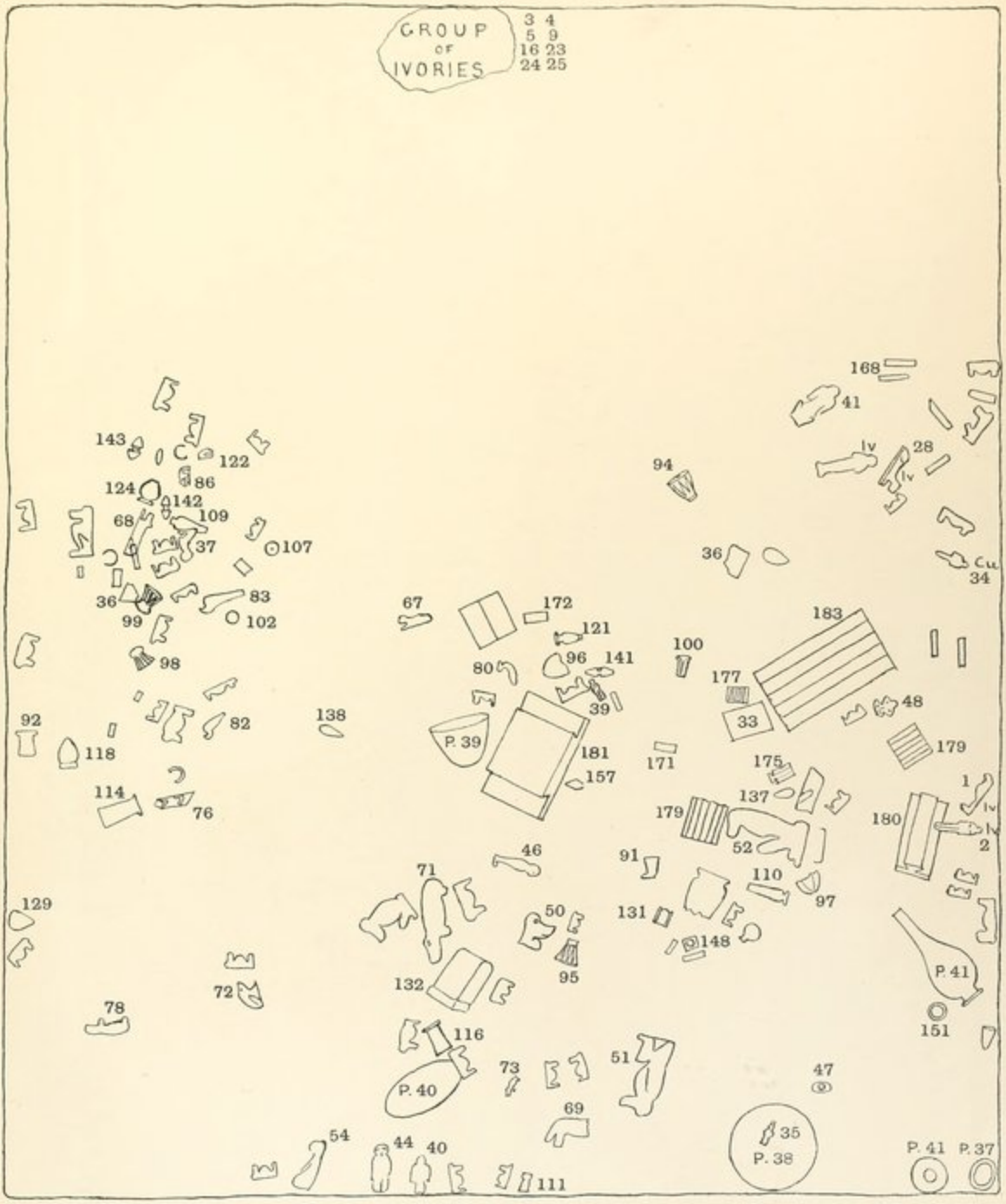
LVIII

Dyn.	SOUTH SIDE.	Ins	DYN.	WEST SQUARE.	
			XVIII	8 Pylon Tahutmes III	
XVIII	2 Chapel of Amenhotep I		XIII	5 Door Sebekhotep III	
		320	XVIII?	0 } Sandstone 6 } paving	
XXII?	3 Late paving			2 Usertesen	
		310	XII	} Wall 6 } Usertesen	
				3 2 } Sub-paving	
VI	9 Pepy deposit	300			
		290	XI	9 } Sankh-kara paving	
	o Pepy deposit			5 }	
		280			
	3 Pepy temple S. door			6 Mentuhotep altar top	
		270			
				6 Mentuhotep ground	6 Copper arrow
VI	o Pepy deposit	260		5 XI wall foot	
				9 Mentuhotep column bases	
			XI	5 XI pottery	5 Pepy vase
		250			2 Copper bowl
V	7 Flint palette		VI	6 Pepy temple N. door	6 Gilt feathers
				2 Pepy bases top	4 Glazed tablets
		240			3 Red pot stand
					0 Neferkara vase
			VI	7 Pepy walls, temple around	8 } Copper cases
				5 Pepy ground	5 }
		230	V	1 West wall temple	3 Ranuser vase
					2 Tall copper vase
					9 Red pot stands
	Store			4 } Hearth altar	
		220			
	Chambers			7	8 Fluted jar
	and			5 } Sand floor N.	5 Aha vase
II	3 vaselets			3 } " " N.W.	3 Diorite bowl
		210	III	o	
	Long				7 M.69 ivory &c
	wall				3 Tetu vase
		200			o ship pan
					8 Small tiles
I	7 flint flake as Zer				7 Inlaid box
		190		2 Sand floor N.	
				9 " " N.E	7 White & black cylinders
			I	7 White lined pit	6 Black cylinder
		180		o Second temple	5 1st dyn. sealing
					8 } Ram stand } Seal of Qa.
				Ground of 1st dyn?	7 Bulls head amulet
		170			o Ribbed slate (Den)
					4 Black Cretan amphora
		160	I		1 Upuat vase
		150			
		140			
				o 1st dyn. tomb floor	o Ribbed slate (Den)
		130			
					5 water
	o Oldest buildings	120			o Beetle amulet
				4 Base of 1st temple	7 water
		110			

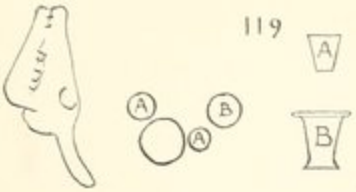
WMFP.

DYN.	MIDDLE.	INS	DYN.	EAST SIDE.
XXVI OR XX	8 Paving 9 7 3 Water channel	320		
		310		
		300	XII	8 Usertesen wall.
		290		
	0 2 Water channel outfall 6 Ramesse III deposit	280		
		270	XI	0 Sankh-ka-ra wall.
		260		
		250		
	2 Bed of flints	240		
XI	4 Late beads & Ptah Crumb beads XI	230	VII	5 Outer Store
VI	8 Copper tools		VI	5 Chambers.
		220		0 Sill of E. outer gate. Sill of N. chambers.
VI	0 Teta decree	210	VI	5 Long stone chamber. 0 Outer Temenos wall.
	9 3 Stones of inner gate			
VI	6 Peby east gate 0 Latest of great stores	200		7 Ox under great E. wall.
	5 N.E. gate sill 0 Ribbed alabaster (Den)	190		Skew buildings
		180		7 Added Temenos wall.
		170		
	1 Oldest of great stores	160		1 Oldest of great stores 5 Sloping
1?	7 Base of second temple			9 4 Sand floor Floor of yellow
	6 Sand floor	150		3 Temenos 1st wall 2 brick.
	8 5 Dirt bed.	140		
		130		
		120		
		110		

W.M.F.P.

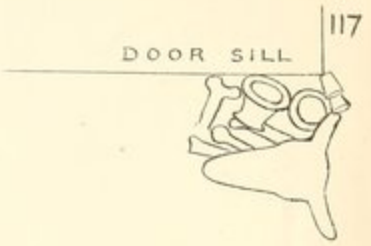


NUMBERS, SEE PLS. I—VIII. P. NUMBERS, POTTERY, SEE PL. XLII.

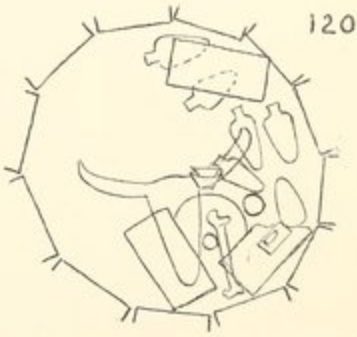


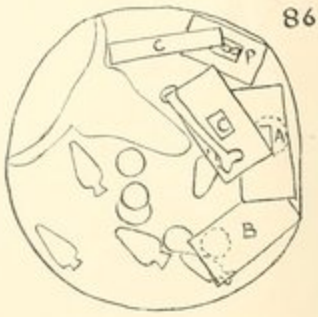


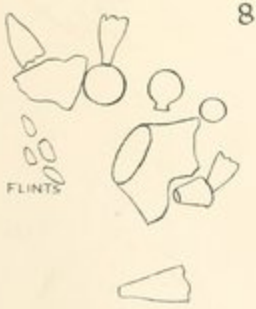
PEPY, VI DYN.

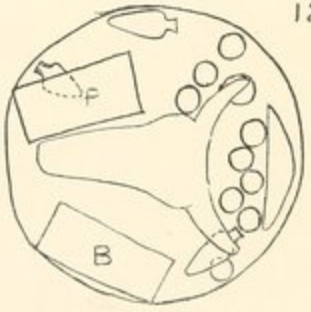




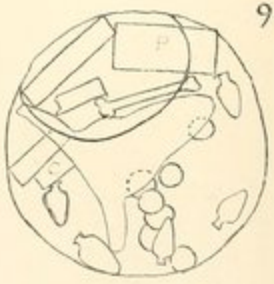


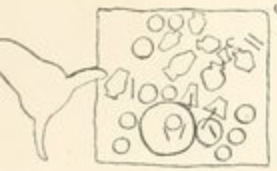


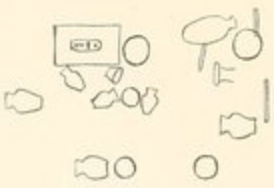




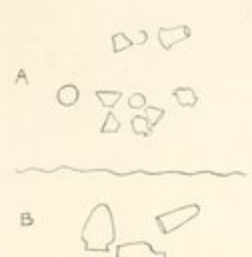
XI AND XII DYN.







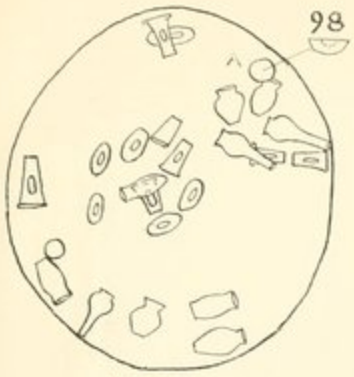


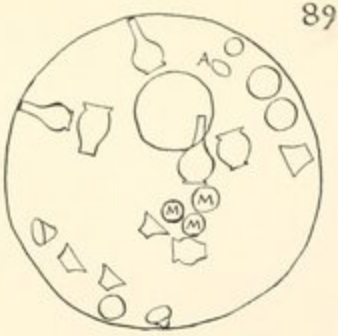


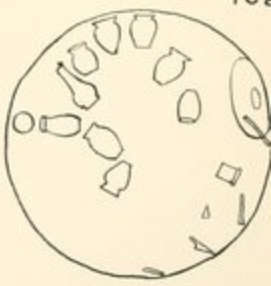




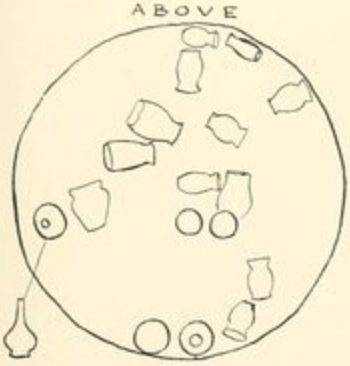
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98


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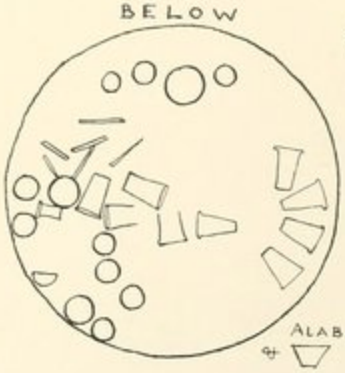

102

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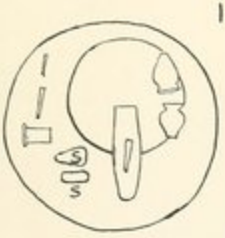
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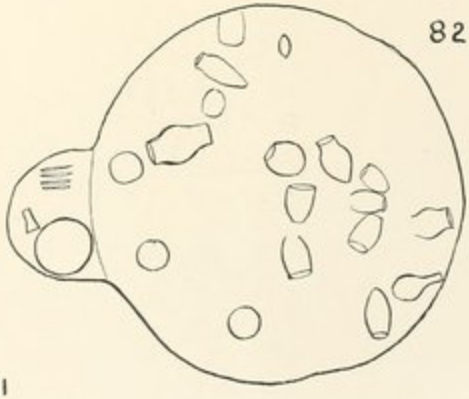
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ALAB.


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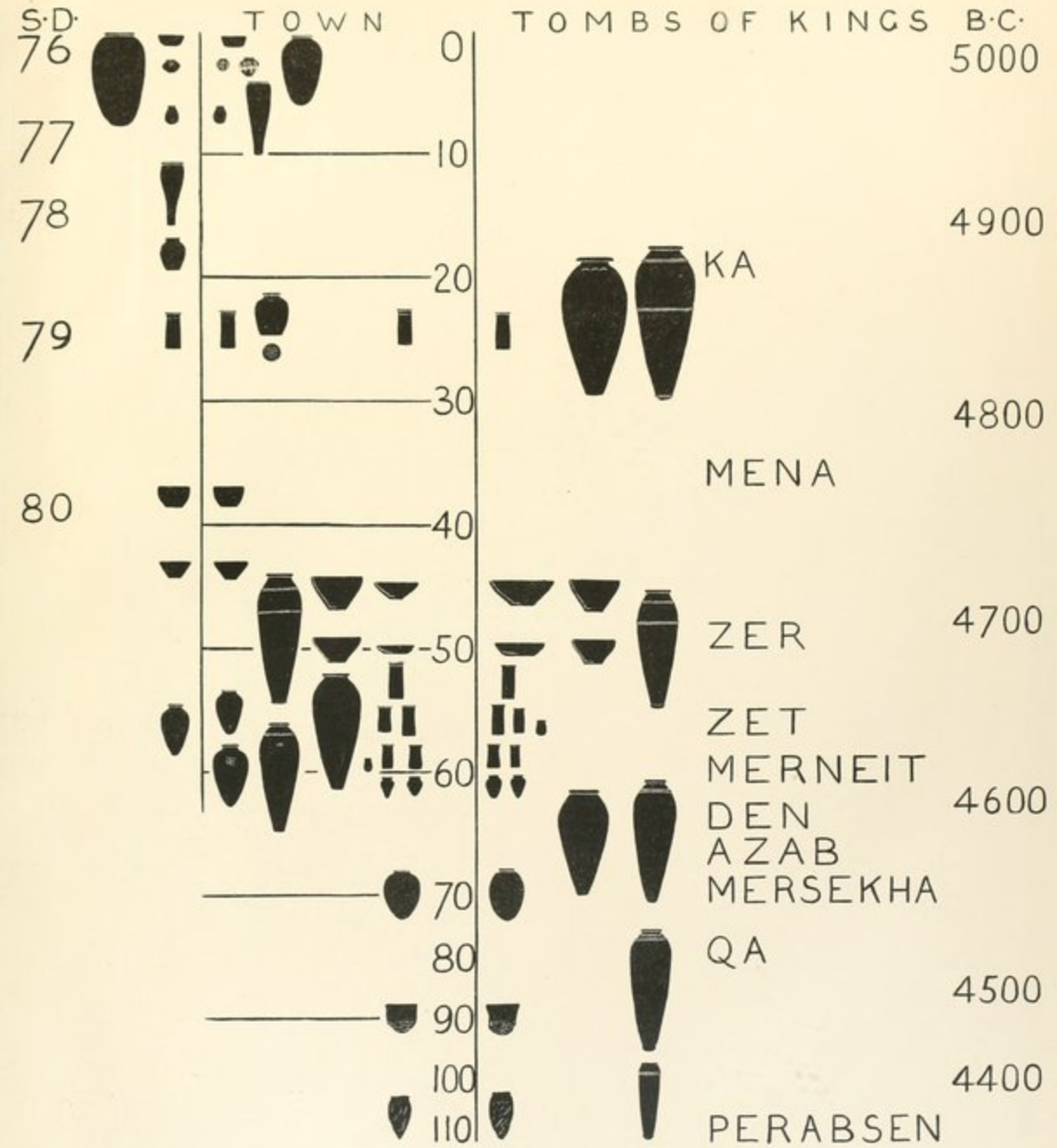

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103


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S·D·
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